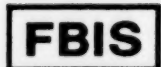


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25 April 1985

# West Europe Report



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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25 April 1985

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POLITICAL

CYPRUS

TURKISH POSITION IN U.S. PERSPECTIVE ACKNOWLEDGED

Nicosia O FILELEVTHEROS in Greek 19 Mar 85 p 3

/Editorial: "Confrontation?"

/Excerpts When one evaluates the unfavorable reactions being manifested against the logical confrontation of things, then one becomes aware of the dangers faced by our struggle, dangers that come from our own faulty calculations. This awareness dictates an imperative need for persistence in logically confronting affairs because otherwise the voices of irreality will be permitted to predominate, with the result that we will suffer new hardships and tribulations in this unhappy land.

Logic must prevail in this country if we are to hope for better days. Logic is based on a realistic outlook on matters. And for this to happen, correct political planning and analysis is needed as a basic condition.

We know Turkey's intentions vis-a-vis Hellenism --and Greece and Cyprus. And since we do know these intentions --that are motivated by the resurrection of expansionist Turkism-- we cannot underestimate the fact that this country, i.e. Turkey, plays a significant role in our region and will continue to do so to an even greater extent. If a Soviet Union does not underestimate this role, then wisdom is not needed for us to see our own evaluations.

We would have liked American policy not to have placed Turkey's role at the top of its priorities. But it has, whether we like it or not. The people who are governing Washington today and those who will do so tomorrow will assign a prime role to Turkey. Regardless of who they will be tomorrow.

What is our position vis-a-vis this country that has wronged us, that for almost 11 years has held our lands enslaved and that does not say when it will desist? The logic of matters --and not emotion-- says that our own interests are not served by a policy of confrontation. A policy of confrontation serves Turkish interests and hurts ours. This is the logic of things, and all those who are fully ready to undertake a campaign against logic let them, if they can, mobilize logical arguments and not a lot of yelling. The latter is easy, the former difficult.

5671  
CSO: 3521/239

POLITICAL

CYPRUS

U.S. ACCUSED OF 'UNBEARABLE HYPOCRISY'

NC080628 Nicosia I SIMERINI in Greek 8 Apr 85 p 3

[From the "Problems and Ideas" column: "U.S. Hypocrisy"]

[Excerpts] U.S. Hypocrisy is infuriating. This is evident by various official U.S. statements on a number of foreign issues. A recent example of this unbearable U.S. hypocrisy is a statement by a State Department spokesman in which he said that the United States opposes the transfer of 1,800 Arab prisoners from the Ansar prison in south Lebanon to a prison in Israel. This action, he continued, is contrary to the spirit of the Geneva treaty, which prohibits the transfer of prisoners from an occupied area to the invader's country. (This refers to article 49 of the 4th Geneva treaty of 1949).

However, the Turkish invaders did things much worse in 1974 when they transferred 2,000 Greek Cypriots deep into Anatolia--soldiers and civilians--and yet the Americans failed to mention or invoke the treaty. They were not moved by the pain of the kidnapped people's families, at the time or later. No U.S. official has ever criticized Turkey for this horrible crime against the Greek Cypriots which was not confined to "the transfer of prisoners to the conqueror's territory," but which probably included the extermination of those defenseless people. The Israelis have officially stated that "these people will be taken back to their homes when the situation returns to normal," but unfortunately it is almost certain that the Greek Cypriots taken by force to unknown places in Turkey, will never return to their country and their families.

Thus, as a result of this fickle policy, U.S. leaders should not be surprised that the number of their friends around the world is continuously decreasing.

CSO: 3521/240



POLITICAL

CYPRUS

ASSURANCES GIVEN ON NO RETURN TO 'ENOSIS'

Nicosia O FILELEVTHEROS in Greek 22 Mar 85 p 3

/Editorial: "No Nationalistic Exaltation Now"/

/Excerpts/ We know very well that even countries that are friendly to us are expressing open doubts and concerns over certain recent actions that they consider as being capable of constituting omens for a return to goals we once had but that had been proven to be unattainable (they were so proven by hard and inexorable reality through the tragedy that struck our country, a tragedy that we are continuing to bear) and that today can be shown to be the coup de grace against our people. So as not to talk unintelligibly and in an absent-minded manner, we will pinpoint our information:

Diplomats of even those countries that are most friendly to our struggle are concerned that we may perhaps return, even though we may only give the impression of returning, to the "Enosis" line. They base their concerns on the way the demonstrations on the 30th anniversary of the beginning of the armed liberation struggle of our people against the colonial government are being prepared. Also, on the way this year's celebrations have been especially marked by state participation following the latest decision by the ministerial council.

We must dispel these concerns. We must make clear that we are not returning to the Enosis line. We must also make clear that the reference to the line of armed struggle, that began on 1 April 1955, is being made for historical reasons.

The years that have elapsed from that time until now, 30 whole years, should have taught us the need for respect of reality. Emotion is a fine thing but when it dominates and casts aside logic the result is hardships and tribulations.

5671  
CSO: 3521/239



POLITICAL

CYPRUS

AKEL RESOLUTION ON NATIONAL DIALOGUE CITED

NC061429 Nicosia Domestic Service in Greek 1030 GMT 6 Apr 85

[Text] AKEL has reaffirmed its support for a meaningful dialogue involving the country's political leaders. Such a dialogue should be based on the principles of mutual respect and implementation of majority decisions.

According to an AKEL statement, the party's political Bureau met yesterday and discussed developments after the House of Representatives resolution and decision on the president's handling of the Cyprus issue. In a relevant resolution, the Political Bureau notes that the president's referral of the House of Representatives decision to the Supreme Court was correct and in accordance with established legal procedures. The AKEL resolution adds: Nevertheless, even after the Supreme Court's ruling, the dispute will still have a political side. According to the AKEL statement, the political dispute centers on how to reach an honest compromise with the Turkish Cypriots as part of a peaceful, just, mutually acceptable, and viable solution to the Cyprus issue. It also revolves around discovery of the best way to safeguard the principle of collective study of issues.

Finally, the AKEL Political Bureau notes that a climate of unanimity, concord, and domestic unity can be created only if the principle of honoring majority decisions is accepted and followed. AKEL points out that this unity should be based on a common position and tactics for a solution to the Cyprus question.

CSO: 3521/240

POLITICAL

FINLAND

# KOIVISTO'S POPULARITY INTACT AFTER PRESS CENSORSHIP FLAP

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 10 Mar 85 pp 3, 17-18

[Articles by Tuomas Keskinen and Jyrki Vesikansa: "Koivisto Lacking Clear Support for First Time"]

[Text] For the first time President Mauno Koivisto was without the clear support of the people last week in a confrontation with the media and its decision-makers. This became evident from a poll conducted by Taloustutkimus Oy [Economic Research Company] for UUSI SUOMI, Channel 10 News, and SAVON SANOMAT.

Only 5 percent of the respondents considered that the confrontation with the Finnish Broadcasting Company increased the president's popularity. Forty percent believed that his popularity had declined and 55 percent believed it remained the same.

In previous confrontations the people have always placed themselves squarely behind Koivisto. Thus 43 percent of the respondents thought a full year ago that the so-called lemming statement increased Koivisto's popularity.

In any case the people consider the dispute to be unnecessary and the means used to be too strong according to this poll. A full 91 percent considers that the dispute was not worth the fuss. According to 72 percent, the president could have used milder means.

And 60 percent considers that the president as well as the editors of the Finnish Broadcasting Company were equally as right or wrong in the dispute.

President Koivisto's popularity, nevertheless, remains at a high level. The percentage of people very satisfied with him is 24 percent and a full 58 percent is quite satisfied.

The quick poll was conducted on Thursday evening before the reconciliation with the Finnish Broadcasting Company was made public. There were 215 respondents so that one should be cautious in a detailed analysis of the answers. The figures indicating a trend are, however, statistically significant.

The small sampling of a quick Gallup poll retains Koivisto's popularity, but gives more support to the interpretations of the Finnish Broadcasting Company than to Koivisto's demands.

#### The Results of An Unnecessary Dispute

Mauno Koivisto is popular.

Finns are at least "quite satisfied" with President Mauno Koivisto's performance. But his dispute with the Finnish Broadcasting Company decreased his popularity more than it increased it.

The president has not been treated particularly unfairly in the Finnish Broadcasting Company's programs and it does not want to grant any special privileges to him in the compiling of programs or the right to determine the re-broadcasting of previous statements made by him.

The people did not like the dispute. It is condemned in various forms and the means used by the president are judged to be too rough.

A significant minority -- 42 percent -- considers that the president attempted to limit freedom of speech with his actions.

This was the assessment of a small sampling of people in a quick poll conducted just before the dispute was settled between the parties concerned.

At least 82 percent of voting-age Finns is quite satisfied with President Mauno Koivisto's performance. The proportion of those especially satisfied is 24 percent.

On the other hand, only 5 percent believes that his popularity increased during the dispute of recent weeks with the Finnish Broadcasting Company and in the opinion of 40 percent it declined.

The whole dispute in itself is roundly condemned since 91 percent of the Finns considers that it was not worth the fuss that was raised. Only 27 percent considered the course of action chosen by the president to be correct and 72 percent considered that the whole matter should have been handled by less severe means.

These opinions are reflected in a poll conducted by Taloustutkimus Oy for UUSI SUOMI, Channel 10 News, and SAVON SANOMAT.

#### Interviews

The purpose of the poll was to clarify the opinions of the "general public" on the events that transpired between President Koivisto and the Finnish Broadcasting Company.

It is significant that the interviews were conducted by telephone on Thursday 7 March before the 8:30 pm news when it was reported that the dispute had been settled.

The target group of the poll was made up of voters over the age of 18. The sampling of respondents was accomplished randomly from the telephone directory. The sampling was restricted by quotas to correspond with the population by areas, type of community, and age as well as sex.

A total of 215 people was interviewed in the poll.

#### Both Were Wrong

Among those interviewed 34 percent considers that the president has received a fair treatment in the Finnish Broadcasting Company's programs, 23 percent considered the treatment to be unfair, and the largest group, 42 percent, considered that treatment fluctuated between the two. However, a larger group considered his treatment to be fair rather than unfair.

Examined by age groups, those over 35 considered the treatment to be significantly more unfair than did the younger people.

A definite majority, 64 percent, considers that the president's statements should not be treated any differently than anyone else's statements. However, 36 percent considers special treatment to be justified. The difference between younger and older respondents with respect to this question is also significant: the younger voters are radically opposed to any privileges.

According to the results of the poll, the majority of Finns is of the opinion that the Finnish Broadcasting Company can present statements previously made by the president in its programs without asking for advance permission.

However, 46 percent approves of the idea of them being subject to permission.

In the opinion of 26 percent of the respondents the president was more correct in the dispute than the Finnish Broadcasting Company's editors, who were supported by 14 percent of the sampling.

What is most interesting is that a full 60 percent considers that both parties were just as wrong or right so that in this sense a harmonious settlement was correct from the point of view of the popularity of both parties. The dispute was looked at in such disfavor.

Women, young people, and farmers adopted an especially disapproving attitude toward the dispute.

#### Freedom of Speech

A full 72 percent of the respondents was of the opinion that the president should have chosen less severe means of action. The position that the whole dispute was not "worth the publicity given to it" received even more support, 91 percent.

And did the president attempt to limit freedom of speech?

A significantly large share, 42 percent, answered this hard question in the affirmative. This can be considered as a large figure since such an important basic right is in question.

The majority, 57 percent, considered, however, that the president did not attempt to limit freedom of speech with his actions.

Thus these opinions were expressed before the settlement of the dispute between the president and the Finnish Broadcasting Company was made public.

#### Lemming Gallup

There was also a crisis between President Mauno Koivisto and the public word a full year ago. The president had forcefully criticized the press and sent a confidential letter to the chief editor.

The president's "lemming interview" given to ABO UNDERRATELSER became the prevailing subject of discussion in the very beginning of January.

On 7--9 January 1984 Taloustutkimus Oy conducted a poll at the request of UUSI SUOMI on the public attitude toward the president's statements and measures. At that time the sampling numbered 259 people.

Among these respondents 55 percent considered that the president's criticism directed at the editors was correct. Those taking a diametrically opposing stand came to 36 percent while 9 percent of the respondents did not have an opinion.

#### Right To Criticize

Those being interviewed were also asked:

In your opinion do those who have been subjected to criticism, the editors, for example, have a corresponding right to criticize the President of the Republic?

A full 80 percent answered in the affirmative. The right of criticism was rejected by 18 percent.

Perhaps these figures were prophetic with respect to the present situation. The vast majority was of the opinion that the president can be criticized.

At that time -- January 1984 -- the poll dealt with other opinions of the president although of somewhat less interest. Among the respondents, 43 percent considered that the president's stands at that time increased his popularity. In the opinion of 38 percent, they decreased it.

Now only 5 percent of the respondents believed that the Finnish Broadcasting Company dispute increased Koivisto's popularity and a full 91 percent was of a contrary opinion.



The following table contains the answers (%) to the questions presented by Taloustutkimus Oy [Economic Research Company]. The asterisk (\*) after the number indicates that the answer of the group in question was statistically significantly different from the answers of the whole group.

|   | All | Female | Male | 18--34<br>years | over 35<br>years | Far-<br>mers | Blue<br>Collar<br>Worker | White<br>Collar<br>Worker |
|---|-----|--------|------|-----------------|------------------|--------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| <b>1. Satisfaction with President Koivisto's performance in office</b>  |     |        |      |                 |                  |              |                          |                           |
| Especially satisfied.....   | 24  | 25     | 23   | 20              | 26               | 27           | 28                       | 20                        |
| Quite satisfied.....  | 58  | 59     | 57   | 63              | 55               | 41           | 57                       | 62                        |
| Not satisfied nor<br>dissatisfied.....  | 10  | 10     | 11   | 8               | 12               | 18           | 8                        | 12                        |
| Quite dissatisfied.....   | 6   | 6      | 7    | 8               | 5                | 5            | 6                        | 7                         |
| Especially dissatisfied...  | 1   | 1      | 2    | --              | 2*               | 9*           | 1                        | --                        |
| No opinion.....   | --  | --     | --   | --              | --               | --           | --                       | --                        |
| <b>2. How has President Koivisto been treated in the Finnish Broadcasting Company?</b>  |     |        |      |                 |                  |              |                          |                           |
| Fairly.....   | 34  | 30     | 39   | 37              | 33               | 32           | 35                       | 34                        |
| Unfairly.....   | 23  | 24     | 22   | 15*             | 28*              | 27           | 22                       | 23                        |
| Both fairly and un-<br>fairly.....  | 42  | 45     | 38   | 47              | 39               | 41           | 42                       | 42                        |
| For the most part<br>fairly.....  | 16  | 14     | 17   | 17              | 15               | 23           | 15                       | 14                        |
| For the most part<br>unfairly.....  | 7   | 8      | 6    | 5               | 8                | 9            | 10                       | 4                         |
| Equally fairly and<br>unfairly.....   | 13  | 22     | 15   | 23              | 15               | 9            | 15                       | 23                        |
| No opinion.....   | 1   | 1      | 1    | 2               | 1                | --           | 1                        | 1                         |
| <b>3. Should the president's public statements be treated in a different manner than those of others in Finnish Broadcasting Company?</b> |     |        |      |                 |                  |              |                          |                           |
| Yes.....  | 36  | 30     | 42   | 20*             | 45*              | 32           | 39                       | 33                        |
| No.....   | 64  | 70     | 58   | 80*             | 55*              | 68           | 61                       | 67                        |
| No opinion.....   | --  | --     | --   | --              | --               | --           | --                       | --                        |



|  | All | Female | Male | 18--34<br>years | over 35<br>years | Far-<br>mers | Blue<br>Collar<br>Worker | White<br>Collar<br>Worker |
|--|-----|--------|------|-----------------|------------------|--------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
|--|-----|--------|------|-----------------|------------------|--------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|

4. Can Finnish Broadcasting Company use president's previous statements without advance request

|                 |    |     |     |     |     |    |    |    |
|-----------------|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|----|----|
| Yes.....        | 54 | 45* | 62* | 63* | 48* | 64 | 56 | 50 |
| No.....         | 46 | 54* | 38* | 37* | 52* | 36 | 44 | 50 |
| No opinion..... | 0  | 1   | --  | --  | 1   | -- | 1  | -- |

5. In the dispute between the president and the Finnish Broadcasting Company is

|  |    |     |     |     |     |    |    |    |
|--|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|----|----|
| The president more right.....                                | 26 | 22  | 29  | 17* | 31* | 23 | 29 | 23 |
| Finnish Broadcasting Company and its editors more right..... | 14 | 10  | 19  | 17  | 12  | 14 | 14 | 14 |
| Both equally right/wrong.                                    | 60 | 67* | 52* | 67  | 55  | 64 | 57 | 61 |
| No opinion.....  | 1  | 2   | --  | --  | 1   | -- | -- | 2  |

6. Were the means chosen by the president

|   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| Correct.....  | 27 | 26 | 28 | 23 | 30 | 14 | 25 | 32 |
| Should matter have been handled by less severe means..... | 72 | 73 | 70 | 75 | 70 | 86 | 74 | 66 |
| No opinion.....   | 1  | 1  | 1  | 2  | 1  | -- | 1  | 1  |

7. Do you believe president's popularity

|                      |    |    |    |    |    |     |     |    |
|----------------------|----|----|----|----|----|-----|-----|----|
| Improved.....        | 5  | 6  | 5  | 5  | 5  | 5   | 4   | 6  |
| Stayed the same..... | 55 | 60 | 50 | 62 | 52 | 32* | 64* | 51 |
| Declined.....        | 40 | 34 | 45 | 33 | 43 | 64* | 31* | 43 |
| No opinion.....      | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | --  | --  | -- |

8. Did president attempt to limit freedom of speech

|                 |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
|-----------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| Yes.....        | 42 | 43 | 41 | 42 | 43 | 41 | 43 | 42 |
| No.....         | 57 | 56 | 58 | 58 | 56 | 59 | 56 | 57 |
| No opinion..... | 1  | 1  | 1  | -- | 1  | -- | 1  | 1  |

|   | All | Female | Male | 18--34<br>years | over 35<br>years | Far-<br>mers | Blue<br>Collar<br>Worker | White<br>Collar<br>Worker |
|---|-----|--------|------|-----------------|------------------|--------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| 9. Was the dispute between the president and the Finnish Broadcasting Company worth the fuss that was raised? |     |        |      |                 |                  |              |                          |                           |
| Yes.....  | 9   | 10     | 8    | 10              | 8                | 5            | 10                       | 9                         |
| No.....   | 91  | 90     | 91   | 90              | 91               | 95           | 89                       | 91                        |
| No opinion.....   | 0   | --     | 1    | --              | 1                | --           | 1                        | --                        |

### A Surprising Turn: People Not Applauding Koivisto's Attacks

[Commentary by Jyrki Vesikansa]

The quick poll conducted by Taloustutkimus Oy surprised me at least. I was ready to wager that President Mauno Koivisto would once again receive the strong support of the people by appealing directly to their ranks above the heads of the opinion-makers and the media.

Koivisto was ready to strike back in MTV's interview. Just as in the famous walking interview in Katajanokka in April 1981 when President Urho Kekkonen lost a domestic policy battle for the first time, I titled my column "Turning Point" at that time.

However, I would now have lost my bet. It was not without reservations that the people shouted long live the president. The formula of the story of the barber-surgeon -- the king and the people against the noblemen -- did not work this time. At least not completely.

One can, of course, wonder why we should ask for a person's view on how the incident affects the president's popularity. Why not ask how it affects the president's popularity in the respondent's own eyes?

Those who are familiar with the poll emphasize, however, how important it is for the respondent to imagine what acquaintances, colleagues, and others think. And above all -- the same has been asked before. There is a point of reference.

### Two Inquiries

Answers to the question of popularity can be compared side by side after two separate situations.

|                          | Lemming statement<br>January 1984 | Finnish Broadcasting<br>Company Dispute March 1985 |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| Increased popularity.... | 43%                               | 5%   |
| Decreased popularity.... | 38                                | 40   |
| Remained the same.....   | 8                                 | 55   |

Thus in a year's time the number of applauders has fallen off drastically. The number of those taking a negative stand is, on the other hand, somewhat the same (and more or less corresponds to the proportion of people voting for Koivisto's opponents in 1982?). The majority has now taken a neutral position.

#### The Old and The Young

Even such a brief survey is indicative of the large fluctuation of views in the various population groups. The popularity question reveals a rather large degree of criticism in farm circles. Of special interest, however, is how radically the views of youth and older people differ with respect to the president's position.

When Urho Kekkonen was elected president for the first time in 1956, my father said that criticism of the president is now coming to an end. Indeed, we never fed a primitive Kekkonen-grudge (as is well known, this was done in many places), but a controversial prime minister was not supported. The chief of state was, however, above criticism.

Those over 35 years of age generally continue to be of the opinion that the president should be treated differently than other decision-makers; for example, advance permission should be sought for using his statements.

Those under 35 are much more relaxed in this if not adopting a more republican line. But a slim majority of those over 35 considers that the president's statements should not be placed in a separate category.

Indeed, all people should be treated objectively and relevantly in public. The majority of the people is, however, becoming accustomed to the fact that the president is not in a special position in this regard. He can be criticized.

It is difficult to consider this anything other than a healthy development. Especially since the president has considerable powers.

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POLITICAL

FINLAND

# SORSA WILL CONTINUE AS SDP CHAIRMAN UNTIL ELECTION

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 13 Mar 85 p 11

[Article by Olavi Jouslehto: "Sorsa To Continue in SDP Leadership"]

[Text] The time for finding candidates to succeed Social Democratic Party Chairman Kalevi Sorsa is beginning to run out without a definite candidate who would be suitable to fill the chairman's shoes.

Sorsa himself has remained silent about the matter. This has been interpreted to mean that he will be available for another 3-year term in the leadership of the SDP if he is asked to continue.

During his term as chairman Kalevi Sorsa has raised the crossbar so high that so much more is being asked of his successors than was asked when he became the successor to Rafael Paasio, the leader of a traditional workers' party.

The leadership of the Social Democratic Party has come out for the continuation of Sorsa's chairmanship. Also the deduction is that Mauno Koivisto wants to continue as president for another term.

Sorsa's successor candidates have been sought, above all, from among the ranks of the SDP's so-called young lions. They are Vice-Chairman and Environmental Minister Matti Ahde, Party Secretary Erkki Liikanen, and Director Ulf Sundqvist of the Finnish Workers' Savings Bank. The flower of this group is Pirkko Tyolajarvi, who is vice-chairwoman of parliament.

Now the time for successor candidates to show themselves is beginning to run out and the results are slim.

Matti Ahde is considered to be a conscientious individual who takes matters seriously, but Sorsa's shoes are still too big for him.

It is considered that Sorsa has risen so high in his work in the Socialist International, among other things, that this limits successor candidates also as party chairman. It is being said that the internationalization of the role of SDP leader demands a strong foreign language proficiency of Sorsa's successor and this Ahde does not have. He also does not have a real hold on foreign policy.

### Liikanen Has Wisecracked Himself Out of A Job

Party Secretary Erkki Liikanen's chances of becoming Sorsa's successor have disappeared, for the most part, because of his Savo-like style of wisecracking. "He does not take anything seriously," say leading Social Democrats. They who are not competing for the job.

Liikanen became party secretary with Sorsa's support, but it is doubtful that even he has Sorsa's support for the chairmanship.

In the opinion of many, Erkki Liikanen is a man suitable to wear the coat of a protocol and entertainment officer, but it is said his support among the rank and file is weak. They do not like a leader who hangs on to teenage humor.

On the other hand, as party secretary Liikanen has been sufficiently "witty". It is said that he also has ideas suitable for political games behind the scenes in his pocket.

### Tyolajarvi's Appeal Is Small

Vice-Chairwoman Pirkko Tyolajarvi is a suitable woman for the SDP leadership in the opinion of many Social Democrats. She has gained points even in the government, but it is being said that now even Tyolajarvi's name has been crossed out.

It is considered that Pirkko Tyolajarvi is trying to get out of politics. "The atmosphere of hostility toward politics has been too much for Pirkko," say the Social Democrats.

Tyolajarvi could obtain the unanimous support of the rank and file better than her competitors, but her appeal is considered to be so low that it is not sufficient for a leader of a party apparently in decline.

### Sundqvist Willing?

It is said that Director Ulf Sundqvist is working to become Sorsa's successor. However, he no longer has that base of support which he had in the 1970s.

It is being said that Sundqvist has become a technocrat, which is not sufficiently satisfactory to the rank and file of a workers' party.

### New Challengers for Next Round

If Sorsa continues as SDP chairman until 1990, his successor candidates will apparently be MP Paavo Lipponen, the one-time "deputy Mauno", and Pertti Paasio, the present chairman of the party's parliamentary faction. In this order.

Lipponen was Prime Minister Mauno Koivisto's political secretary for a long time and now he has risen to the leadership of the SDP's Helsinki District.

It is said that Lipponen has the best chances as the continuator of Sorsa's work. He even has a radical background, but now opposition to him can be found from the party's left wing.

Faction leader Pertti Paasio is considered in the party as being restrained, trustworthy, and "suitable", but the chairmanship of his father, Rafael Paasio, is considered to be more of a nepotistic burden than a recommendation. However, it is said that Paasio is future ministerial material.

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POLITICAL

FINLAND

#### SDP PARLIAMENTARY GROUP STRATEGY EXAMINED

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 23 Mar 85 p 13

[Commentary by Kyosti Karvonen]

[Text] It has become customary to consider the Social Democratic parliamentary group as simple button pushers, who accomplish that policy which the party and the party's ministers think will be to their common benefit.

However, several setbacks have demonstrated that the bottom has been reached even in the Social Democrats' sack. The SDP's 57-member group has given signs of wanting to free itself of the role of government interpreter.

It is said that a feeling of "things going well, but let it go" is prevalent in the group even after the successful parliamentary elections.

But when the party lost 130,000 voters in the municipal elections in the fall, complete power became an uncertainty. Prime Minister Kalevi Sorsa has himself admitted at a meeting of the group that the SDP's image has become more right-wing.

The earlier increase in strike penalties startled the Social Democratic representatives so much that it is doubtful that all of them will endorse Sorsa's argument that the world's best labor contract package has been concluded.

#### Envious of Center Party

There is plenty of envy in the SDP group toward the Center Party, which rode to a decent victory in the municipal elections with a noisy construction law campaign. The Center Party's more accurate tactical eye is acknowledged with the same degree of envy.

The SDP group seems to want Center Party-like pretexts for its party and some have already been invented.

The party has adopted a cool attitude toward the business tax reform, which seems to have surprised the bourgeois parties and industry, which have become accustomed to yes-Social Democrats.

The parliamentary group has rushed the party and its ministers into being resolute in questions concerning the rules of the labor market, which are being accomplished.

The Social Democratic ministers are evidently intent on purposely bringing controversial issues into the government. Disputes with the Center Party seem to be arising from committee to committee.

If one were to dig up cliques from within the SDP group, one could find the party leadership and the "boys" huddled around it, the "girls" speeding along the left lane, the trade union wing, and a group of serious fundamental Social Democrats.

A certain representative divides the group into wing men striving to be on the winning side, ufo's who criticize for the sake of criticism, and those who act as a basic Social Democrat has become accustomed to behaving.

The old division into left-wing and right-wing Social Democrats has outlived its time. Attitudes toward nuclear power, development aid, and even "Green values" are better yardsticks.

No one doubts, for example, Mikko Ronnholm's friendly attitude toward nuclear power or Arja Alho's, Tarja Halonen's and Liisa Jaakonsaari's opposition to nuclear power.

And when Paavo Lipponen promoted a parliamentary defense committee, Alho, Halonen, and Jaakonsaari were stirred up more by the Salvadorean guerilla than the Finnish soldier skilled in forest fighting.

#### A Trump Card in One's Career, A Minister

There is an old axiom that a representative of the ruling party can gain the most publicity by criticizing the government and the party. In the opinion of many -- even the envious -- Social Democrats, Reino Paasilinna has understood this the best.

The group's left-wing members have used Paasilinna as "bait", which has accumulated almost 20 votes in a couple votes.

The group's other information expert, Seppo Tikka, has complained that the people are not being told what is really happening in parliament. A paid announcement about Tikka's activities in parliament would not be overwhelmingly expensive.

The majority of Social Democratic MP's are industrious toilers, who do not have Antti Kalliomaki's sports career or Sinikka Hurskainen-Leppanen's husband as their trump cards.

Thus, for example, Matti Louekoski, Pekka Myllyniemi, or Jukka Mikkola may have much to say that is valuable, but in an infocracy it is not important what is said but who says it.

There is another equally old axiom that in politics no one gets ahead if he does not get into the politically correct circle. In the Social Democratic group this has been understood by Markus Aaltonen, Mikko Elo, and Tuulikki Hamalainen, for example.

Among the Social Democrats, Communications Minister Matti Luttinen and Jouko Skinnari, who are chasing votes in Lahti, as well as Lea Savolainen and Martti Lahdesmaki from Hameenlinna have conducted the most visible district election campaigns.

City Manager Pertti Hietala of Pieksamaki, on the other hand, will have to compete for voters with Pentti Skon of the SMP [Finnish Rural Party].

The most prominent names in the trade union wing are Risto Ahonen, Reijo Lindroos, and Pekka Starast, who have not exactly known whether or not to be in a joint front with the SKDL [Finnish People's Democratic League] in the strike penalty issue.

The chairmanship campaign, which is just starting in the SDP, has still remained under the surface in the parliamentary group. However, it has been observed that Party Secretary Erkki Liikanen is under pressure to demonstrate that he is a good party secretary. Matti Ahde, for his part, must show that he is a good minister.

On the other hand, it is being considered that Vice-Chairwoman Pirkko Tyolajarvi is getting ready to retire as a provincial governor. Lipponen has much to do in directing the Helsinki District, which suffered a defeat in the municipal elections, and group leader Pertti Paasio is just now gaining speed.

Only Ahonen, who has considered the change of chairmen as healthy and has demanded an open debate on the issue, has brought the leadership question up in public.

But there are those in the group who would like Sorsa to continue after 1987. A certain representative has urged that pictures of Sorsa and aspirants to the chairmanship be placed side by side so that they can be compared. After that, the changing of chairmen can be forgotten for a few years.

#### Hopes in Paasio

The tether from the party office to the parliamentary group has not been very long, but it is said to have become longer in the last couple years.

As an example of the growth of influence, the Social Democratic MP's proudly mention a certain joint operation of the group by which the attempt to curtail the local traffic of the Finnish State Railways was thwarted. According to the assessment of a certain Social Democrat, "it is doubtful that Communications Minister Matti Luttinen (Social Democrat) would have moved" without it.

The unemployment security law, which parliament forcefully enacted last spring, is also a source of pride for the group.

The group is placing considerable hopes on Paasio, who replaced Olli Helminen last fall.

Helminen, who became rehabilitation director of the the National Pensions Institute, is presently satisfied with pulling up to the parliament building in his Saab.

There is a desire in the group to replace vice-chairmen Pirkko Ala-Kapee and Aimo Ajo with politically more influential individuals.

For example, in the group Ajo is remembered for receiving the task of reproaching Juhani Surakka with the authority of a pastor for pushing the wrong voting button.

Even though there is dissatisfaction under the surface in the Social Democratic group, the unity of the group is on a much more solid basis than, for example, in the Conservative Party and in the SKDL.

The group's most recent "policy dispute" concerned the matter of who will deliver the SDP group's speech in connection with the government's health policy report. In a vote taken by the group, Anna-Liisa Piippari as well as Alho received three votes.

Paasio's vote resolved this important policy dispute in favor of Piippari.

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POLITICAL

FRANCE

NATURE, LEGALITY OF DOUMENG ACTIVITIES VIEWED

Brussels KNACK in Dutch 13 Feb 85 pp 54-55

[Article by Jos Grobben: "A Farmer Goes to Moscow"]

[Text] On 21 November 1983, an important meeting takes place in Moscow between two extensive trade delegations: one from France and one from the host country. The French mission is headed by Edith Cresson herself, minister of foreign trade. When the time has come for the meeting, industrialists who have come along on the trip, messengers and other aides leave the conference hall. The press is the last to break up. The doors are closed, heads are counted. Suddenly Cresson notices that there is someone else in the room: an imposing gentleman, ripe for Weight Watchers, gray hair stiffly combed back, glasses perched on his nose. She entreats the man to leave. The man is dismayed, the Russian interlocutors are clearly annoyed. The man steps outside with a beet-red face and in the hall flies into a wild rage in the presence of humming cameras. He finds it unheard-of that he, Jean-Baptiste Doumeng, was waltzed out, and affronts Cresson in a manner than cannot be misconstrued: "a softy who is out of place here."

Doumeng is the man who on his own pretty much holds the French-Russian trade balance in equilibrium. He is the largest meat merchant in the world, the largest corn cultivator in Nigeria; one could go on for a while with this list. He is a farmer (that is ultimately what is still on his passport), member of the French Communist Party [CP], director of a good 40 companies, owner of an awe-inspiring amount of land (50,000 hectare corn plantation in Nigeria, one million hectares of forest in the Congo), oilman, dealer in agricultural products (from grain to nutmeg and from currants to slaughter waste products), owner of several unique statute labor farms and of a Mystere 50 jet. His most prominent business, Interagra, is active in nearly 70 countries and has offices or branches in 25 of these. A veil of discretion has been draped over the volume of business and profits for years now. Experts estimate that Interagra alone handled some 110 billion Belgian francs in 1983, thereby recording a (conservatively estimated) net profit of 280 million Belgian francs.

Brutal

Jean-Baptiste Doumeng is thus a somebody in France. He began as a farmer's son at the end of the 1930s--he is now 65-- with the establishment of small



agricultural cooperatives, which he later merged into larger entities. At 16 he became a member of the French CP in order to, as he himself says, "free [himself] from the chains of poverty." He records his first commercial successes in the prewar period, but dreams of something bigger, something enormous.

The Second World War sharply slows down the growth of his empire, but unexpectedly opens up perspectives as well. From his model farm in Noe, near Toulouse, he plots his coup. Scarcely are the Germans back where they belong before Doumeng begins his Interagra, a company for trade and intermediary commerce in agricultural products. The company begins its activity in 1946 and in that first year of operation Doumeng imports his first half million ton of grain from the Soviet Union. The "red billionaire" or the "Marshal of France" has been launched, and nothing or no one will be able to stop the growth of Interagra and the subsidiaries that spring up like mushrooms. No minister of agriculture, no center-rightist government (which nevertheless rarely or never trusts the headstrong communist), and certainly no European Commission.

Jean-Baptiste Doumeng expands Interagra into one of the largest companies in the world in the agricultural sector. His trade with the East Bloc countries is perhaps the most spectacular, most impressive facet of Doumeng's activities, but he does not put all his eggs in one basket. Thus, he was something like the first European in the 1950s to make prospective trips to China, and began in the 1970s--against the advice of innumerable experts--to invest hundreds of millions all at once in African countries.

Bartering? This mercantile activity is being depicted these days as a great innovation. Companies active in intermediary commerce in this line of business are among the fastest growers in the United States, but Doumeng was a fervent barterer as early as the end of the 1940s. One of the biggest operations in this realm was carried out in the 1970s. At that time, Doumeng shipped incredible amounts of grain to Vietnam, received similarly gigantic masses of rice in exchange, transported this to Indonesia and was paid for it in oil, which he effortlessly passed on to oil multinationals.

The red farmer has never been at a loss for a harsh statement. His tirade in Moscow proves this, and George Marchais as well has discovered personally that Doumeng is clearly no rookie. When the Communists joined the government coalition, the secretary general of the French CP demanded that Doumeng be accepted as a member of the respectable French Insurance Company for Foreign Trade (COFACE). After raising objections, Francois Mitterrand let Marchais have his way. But this club of primarily well-paid officials scarcely appreciated the arrival of Doumeng. They promptly blocked nearly all Interagra files, and before the very first COFACE meeting was over, all hell had broken loose. When the farmer was sounded out afterwards on his first impressions, he stunned the French Television One reporter with the lamentation, "How can a sensible man even talk to such duds?" Marchais, who counts three friends within the club, was forced to eat his hat.

In 1983 he surprised the European farmers' guild with this sneering remark that France would do well to leave the European Community. The esteemed colleagues



in Ireland, Germany and England after all taint the European meat market by importing for fodder inexpensive soybeans from the United States on a massive scale, as well as even more inexpensive manioc from Asian countries.

However brutal this Doumeng's tongue can be, he is all the more discrete in disposing of his affairs. Competitors catch wind of things only at the moment that the deal has been completed or the check cashed. And they confine themselves in many cases to the umpteenth campaign of "staining the master." The two ever-recurring reproaches--which have, however, never been made loudly--are that Doumeng is the largest shareholder in the French CP and that his quasi-unverifiable affairs are a cover operation. For what? For the laundering of money from Moscow to all sorts of European red friends and agents, of course.

#### Tit for Tat

However, there have in fact been three investigations into the activities of Jean-Baptiste Doumeng and the companies under his direction. One of them has not yet been completed, and the two French investigations were in connection with possible tax fraud. In a fit of forgetfulness, Doumeng had neglected to declare private earnings from gold speculation to the tax authorities.

The third inquiry is being carried out by the European Commission. The subject of the dispute is two shiploads of butter that Doumeng allegedly transported to the Soviet Union, while Cuba was officially given as the destination on the export permit. Nothing wrong? Yes there is, because butter exports to the Russians are banned as a result of their excursion into Afghanistan. Now, no one had any proof that the first boat ever unloaded in the Soviet Union. But the second ship was followed for days by a British submarine. And the British, who have been keeping an eye on Doumeng for a while and who especially last year by means of the EEC succeeded in landing him in difficulties (financially as well), got their first strike against him. The Russian ship, which was loaded in Great Britain, in fact did not at all steam towards Havana, but instead sailed jauntily into Leningrad harbor a few days later. Could there be any better evidence?

Yes there could, because Doumeng calmly contended before the Commission, with the Cuban customs forms in his hand, that the ship had taken additional cargo on board in Leningrad and from there sailed to Cuba with butter and all. The British submarine had not waited around for this.

The same year, Doumeng, who can practically call all the leaders of East Bloc countries personal friends, gave the British tit for tat. In 4 months time he exported one and a half million tons of grain, 50,000 tons of meat and 120,000 tons of flowers to his Soviet trading partners. With official permission, and everything in order.

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POLITICAL

GREECE

'OBJECTIONS' TO 'EXPLANATIONS' OF PASOK MANEUVER

Athens TO VIMA in Greek 17 Mar 85 p 17

/Article by Marios Floritis; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface/

/Text/ Those who have the bad habit not to accept facts unexamined and not to accept phenomena unquestioned and uninvestigated do not stop asking themselves about the deeper /reasons/ for and larger /goals/ of the (unexpected) decision by the prime minister on the election of the new president of the republic.

Of course, in such superheated times, cool and collected judgement is difficult as is the registering of opposing views so that some objective conclusions might be forthcoming. Nevertheless, we will endeavor to describe the /explanations/ being put forward (as well as the /counter-replies/ offered), without "our circumscribing" and without "our deriding" either "theories" or readers.

The "Ideological" Explanation: Namely, "The marriage between a conservative president and a socialist government was /ill-matched/ 'from the very outset' as 'a principle.' Even more so since Mr Karamanlis is the topmost representative of the status quo, of the establishment, as well as its trustee and guardian (thanks to the constitutional superpowers he had given the top executive, namely himself). So, he cannot coexist with a party that has vowed as its goal and has vowed to the people the crushing of that 'order of things.'"

/Nevertheless,/ in the 3-1/2 years of this coexistence not only did "strong shocks" not perturb the presidential-governmental marriage but neither did "quarrels" between them appear. But beyond this is the following: If the government considered --for reasons of "principle"-- "coexistence" "unsuitable," why /did it not come out clearly/ (or even hint at) and state its position, its ideological opposition to Mr Karamanlis and, consequently, its opposition to his reelection?

To the contrary, the prime minister continued to praise the president, describing him as a /"phenomenon"/ of a president even for Europe, /"unique"/ for his office. He told and retold reporters and party cadres: /"Do you know many Greeks who could be so attached to their constitutional duties as Mr Karamanlis?"/

Even in his "bombshell" announcement last Saturday to the party central committee, Mr Papandreou emphasized, /"During the 1981-1985 4-year period, a dialectical relationship and an open balance was experienced between the state institution (president) and the political institution (self-sustained government) in full

harmonization with respect toward the popular will...."/ In his speech to the Panhellenic Conference of Party Cadres (11 March), he restated, /"The fact that these unacceptable provisions (for the president's powers) were not employed is to the honor of both who were in office. And, indeed, a practice of implementing the Constitution was worked out at that time that generally reflects our own tendencies..."/

These contradictions --and contradictions of contradictions-- do not give evidence of the government's "ideological import" nor do they promote the "clean atmosphere" that is indispensable for the breath of democracy. To the contrary, they bring into our public life another "pollution cloud" with a high rate of dioxide. The /"obvious"/ is /"ingenious"/ not only logically but perhaps, even more, /politically./

The "Constitutional" Explanation: Namely, "The 1975 Constitution is /dictatorial/ --especially with regard to the /superpowers/ it gives the president of the republic. While, of course, Mr K. Tsatsos and Mr K. Karamanlis may not have made use of 'their' powers, this does not mean that some other president could not use them in some political clash with the majority party. So, their revision is necessary --something, however, that was not to be sought by Mr Karamanlis since his child is the Constitution."

/Nevertheless,/ the Constitution was passed in 1975. But PASOK voted against it (by abstention), then /"it was forgotten"/ by its opponents. To such an extent, indeed, that Mr Papandreou /did not/ even remember to include its revision in the famous /"Contract with the People."/ And, of course, he did /not/ remember it at all during the 3-1/2 years he has been prime minister. /How/ then was the revision suddenly resurrected and has /now/ become "an imperative need?"

On the other hand, why is /only/ the revision of those provisions dealing with the president's powers being requested? Mr Papandreou has censured the /general dictatorial/ nature of the Constitution, he has condemned the /"constitutional safeguarding of the rights of monopolistic and shipowners capital"/ and he has gone so far as to describe it as /"an extension of the Papadopoulos Constitution."/ (Speech delivered in Larisa in July 1975. The signer of the article "Fear of the People," TO VIMA, 19 January 1975, Second "Political" Section, pages 17-23, also pointed out the shortcomings and the anti-popular aspects of the Constitution). Why does he not, therefore, now plan on revising /these provisions too/? Why, for example, does he not touch on those provisions that relate to /"violations"/ of human rights (Art. 25, Par. 3), to /press injustices/ that are described as /"flagrant"/ (Art. 14, Par. 7), to censorship in movies, television, etc. (Art. 15, Par. 1) and, above all, to /"displacements" for the prevention of criminal offenses"/ (Art. 5, Par. 4), a law that is accompanied by so many vivid memories? With the abolition of these articles, would not the /"rescue of democracy" really/ come about?

On the other hand, the proposed revision of Article 110 whereby /any Chamber of Deputies whatsoever/ can /modify/ the Constitution with only an increased majority (180 deputies) is democratically (and constitutionally) erroneous. Even adolescent lawyers know that the Constitution, that is a "fundamental law" and "depository of the people's sovereignty"/is constituted through special popular consent/ and, indeed, /it is modified through special popular consent./ Not through the will and decision of a mere opportunistic majority that "knives and slaughters everything."

Besides, the government itself was made aware of how maladroit the proposal for a revision of this article is (even after a holiday or after celebrations) and it now is asking for relative views from professors of constitutional law. /Now!.../

The "Alternate" Explanation: To wit, "Mr Karamanlis constituted a /brake on Change./ Of course, he never refused his signature to laws and regulations. But the government knew quite well to what radical decisions and measures the president would have strongly been opposed and for that reason did not even make "a start" for getting them implemented. Thus, "Change" remained at the halfway mark. Thus, many promises remained unfulfilled -- and, above all, withdrawal from NATO, the eviction of the bases, the "divorce" from the EEC, as well as economic and social measures that would have changed the form and structure of the country."

/Nevertheless,/ it has been said and proven many times --and from this column too-- that "stubborn" individuals /did not/ act as a "brake" to "Change" but uncontrollable /events./ Deeds and reality showed PASOK and the government that much of what PASOK and the Movement had determined was /unattainable/ (for the time being at least). Not the explicit or unspoken opposition by the president but social and economic conditions and capabilities of the country, our geographic position, the correlation of forces of both big and small powers around us, as well as other very well-known reasons blocked radical changes and leaps. And wherever and whenever the government ignored "hard reality" there were crises, tensions and opposition that did anything but favor "change" and did anything but "bless" this land.....

Besides, talk about a presidential "brake" is contradicted even today by the government itself. In his statement on 10 March, Mr Papandreou once again praised /"the irreproachable manner with which he"/, Mr Karamanlis, /"exercises his powers."/ And in his letter to the president (after the latter's resignation) he reaffirmed that /"our cooperation was always unimpeded."/

Becoming more specific, Mr Maroudas, the government spokesman, told foreign correspondents on 12 March, /"With our handling of affairs, as far as both NATO and the EEC are concerned, there has not been in the past any disagreement with President Karamanlis who has resigned."/

So that no one would have any doubts, not only as far as persons and events are concerned, he added, /"The Greek Government has not expressed any intention of withdrawing from either NATO or the EEC."/ (TO VIMA, 13 March 1985)

Perhaps he will express it now?

The "Popular" Explanation: In other words, "PASOK's leadership heard /the voice of the people/ --local, regional, etc. party organs-- that were hostile to the candidacy of Mr Karamanlis. And it adapted itself to the popular will."

/Nevertheless,/ it is a certain and acknowledged fact that up to the last minute all (almost all) the ministers and all (almost all) the deputies were prepared to vote for Mr Karamanlis. Which means: either all of these individuals /did not know/ of "the popular will" or they did know it but /disagreed/ with it or they agreed with it but /did not dare/ express it but /kowtowed/ silently to the choices and orders



of the leadership. Just as they had kowtowed "enthusiastically" when the leadership "ordered" them to vote exactly in the opposite manner....This or that, none of these three versions is flattering, of course, to them. And, at any rate, it is not convincing that "the voice of the people" was the catalyst for the 10 March decision since the /preeminent representatives of the people/ --deputies, etc. -- either /were unaware of it or were ignored/by their leaders.....

The "Tactical-Electoral" Explanation: Namely, the interpretation of the turnabout is very simple and "realistic." In view of the forthcoming elections, Mr Papandreou judged (or was persuaded) that /it was of more interest/ to his party "to get rid of" Mr Karamanlis rather than to support him. In this way,

1. He appears /consistent/ in his anti-Right position (since Mr Karamanlis is its symbol) and he revives "the dormant anti-Karamanlis feelings."
2. He takes away "a trump card" from the Left, /gives the lie to/ charges made against him for "turning conservative," for "coexistence with the establishment," for "embodiment in the Constitution" and for not revising the Constitution.
3. He is justified over the /"half-finished" Change/, casting responsibility for this on the president and renews promises that were not fulfilled.(/"We have now entered the proper path," he said./)
4. He reanimates, he regalvanizes, he unites his followers. (/"I once again find my militant disposition...."/)

In short, the alteration of Change on the issue of the presidential election was dictated by a desire for reviving the atmosphere of fanaticism (as well as the goals) of the "inflexibility" of 1961, the "anti-sedition" of 1965 and the "Change" of 1981 that had mobilized the "large masses" and had stirred up "great passions."

/Nevertheless,/ and even more "realistic:" This sudden turnabout may /not/ be /so profitable/ or may even prove to be /damaging./ This is so because of the following:

1. The "ideological" (anti-Right) consistency is more or less /refuted/ by the inconsistency on the issue of the presidential election --since whatever was talked about on Friday was overturned on Saturday-- and, therefore, all that is being said /about any issue whatsoever/ can be overturned /for any reason whatsoever./ Retractions in political choices signal (or confirm) ideological retractions. And vice-versa. And they lead to a vicious circle from which neither ideology nor politics comes out undamaged....
2. The "flanking" of the Left remains defective if its other basic demand is not satisfied --the change of the /electoral law/ and the establishment of the /simple proportional/ electoral system. Without that, charges that a move toward "bipartisanship" are not losing their mark. As are charges over perseverance on dictatorial measures so long as the dictatorial provisions in the Constitution, referred to above, are not modified.

3. The benefits PASOK hopes to gain from the "opening toward its Left" could be nullified by the /"closing toward its Right."/ In other words, from a departure of many of its centrist voters who would not "put up with" a (even though unfortunate) /alliance/ between PASOK and the Left. Of course, many people, both sincere and insincere, would /thus/ "interpret" the vote by the KKE for the government's candidate... And still one more "mishap" for many centrist voters: The communist party is becoming the /regulator/ of the political situation since the result of the presidential elections depends on its votes and, consequently, further developments also....

4. The "reanimation" of party followers and the "revival" of atmospherics are, of course, legal weapons in an electoral battle. But the following basic fact must not be overlooked: In three previous instances (1961, 1965 and 1981), one party that had been condemned to stay "in the corner" for years, fought a party that /held power/ and also fought the royal superpower (1961 and 1965). Through trumpet calls for "popular sovereignty" and "social justice" it held its followers under constant pressure and in order of battle until the enemy's strongholds would fall...Today, this party /holds power/; it /has done so/ for 3-1/2 years; there are no strongholds to seize, nor royal courts to "tread upon" and (following Mr Karamanlis' resignation) it has no opponent in power to fight. Of course, the slogan now is /"completion of Change."/ But, as we said above, deeds have shown what and how much are the margins of Change and transformations. And within these margins, how much ground is there for "enthusiasm" and for "militant fervor?"

All of these "statements" and "contradictions," proclamations and denunciations, the singing of hymns and then retractions, all bring about "strong shocks" to the common citizen over the credibility, weight and sincerity of the government and over its "conduct." And while no one doubts the right of the party in power or any other party to prefer A or B road, C or D individual, very many people dispute the propriety and correctness in the "manner" this right is exercised. In such instances, the "manner" becomes the "substance" and the /"immoral means" undermines even the most "lawful purposes."/ And this was not said by some preacher. It was said by the high priest of socialism, Karl Marx.....

5671

CSO: 3521/230



POLITICAL

GREECE

BRIEFS

SUMMER ELECTIONS DOUBTED--If, as they say, elections will be held in the beginning of the middle of June, this will constitute an extreme seasonal limit. In our country, elections are almost never held in the summer. It is believed that leaders are concerned about the fact that the electorate will miss their vacation and their dips in the sea. However, reality is very different, and much more selfish. It dates from the country's old social structure, which is still somewhat valid. The rural candidates, parties and party leaders never wanted to hold elections in the summer because they would lose a significant number of votes: those of the nomadic populations, whose numbers were respectable, and, in some areas, continue to be so. As soon as the snow would melt in the spring, they would start out with their families and herds for the cool mountain regions, and would thereafter be very difficult to find, to be harangued, to be persuaded, and even more difficult to secure their vote. Today, of course, every shepherd owns a transistor radio and can use highways to come down to the village in a few hours. However, it is doubtful that he would feel the need--much less the obligation--to return to the plains to vote. [Excerpts] [Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 5 Apr 85 p 4]

CSO: 3521/243

POLITICAL

NORWAY

OTHERWISE CALM CENTER PARTY CONGRESS FAILS TO AGREE ON SDI

Ambiguous Resolution on Space Arms

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 18 Mar 85 p 3

[Article by Kjell Harberg, Lars Hellberg and Terje Svabo: "Satisfied Party Leaders Following Center Party's National Congress; Ambiguity on Space Research"]

[Excerpts] Skien, 17 March--With a very unclear statement on space arms research, the Center Party concluded a national congress with which the party leadership is very pleased. The satisfaction is due primarily to the absence of a debate on cooperation with the government. Re-elected chairman Johan J. Jakobsen characterized it as liberating that discussion about governing is finished within the Center Party. It appears from the program which was adopted for the forthcoming parliamentary session that the Center Party will vote against advertising in the media.

The Center Party's national congress in Skien must be described as very peaceful with very little fighting between the party leadership and delegates.

Johan J. Jakobsen said at a press conference after the meeting closed that he had gone to Skien with a certain anxiety. The party leader, however, became calm during the stay and returned to Oslo with a relieved mind.

There was a unanimous statement from the national congress concerning space arms research to the effect that Norway must be allowed to state that research which is geared toward development of space weapons should not occur either in the East or the West. Does the formulation of the statement in this fashion mean that the Center Party now is opposed to space arms research? There exist at least two responses to this question.

The government previously has stated that it is opposed to the militarization of space, but both Prime Minister Kare Willoch and Foreign Minister Sverre Strøm have said that it is not possible to be opposed to research.

The president of Parliament, Lars Velsand from Oppland, was unopposed at the Center Party's national congress when he expressed his support for the resolution. Velsand expressed himself in a manner that there was no doubt that the resolution must be interpreted as a "no" to research.

At the press conference following the national congress, however, Jakobsen and parliamentary leader Johan Buttedahl stated so categorically. Jakobsen maintained that the resolution did not contain any challenge to take the initiative for halting the research. Buttedahl placed emphasis on the fact that the statement will provide a good support for the parliamentary delegation's work on this matter.

Both party leaders said that the statement must be viewed as more aggressive than that which previously had been expressed, without saying anything concrete concerning what it contained. Jakobsen emphasized that the resolution is in line with the government's critical position on the militarization of space and said that he could imagine that Willoch and Stray could have voted for such a statement.

#### Key Issues

The centrist party has no key issues, along the line of what the debate concerning EC means for the Center Party, following this national congress. Johan J. Jakobsen, however, said that following the days in Skien, he is associated with a party which has a straight back and faith in the future.

As cues for the issues which the Center Party will make its priorities, and which dominated the debate, Jakobsen named employment, care of the elderly, cultural policies, district policies and efforts toward new technology.

The debate at the national congress showed that there is within the Center Party, as in the other two ruling parties, a fear over the economy of local districts. It was asserted that this can become a more difficult matter in the election campaign than unemployment. There was no direct complaining about district economies such as the party leadership had feared beforehand.

It undoubtedly came as a surprise that there was nearly no discussion on what should occur should the Progress Party end up holding the balance of power in Parliament following the election. The reason for this lies primarily in the fact that the party leadership has stated clearly that it will not become an actuality that the Progress Party will be given any influence over the policies of a continued three-party coalition government.

#### Party Leadership Reelected

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 18 Mar 85 p 3

[Article by Kjell Harberg, Lars Hellberg and Terje Svabo: "Reelection of Party Leadership"]

[Text] Skien, 17 March--The Center Party's leadership triumvirate was reelected without opposition during the elections at the national congress. Thereby, chairman Johan J. Jakobsen and vice-chairmen Johan Buttedahl and Anne Enger Lahnstein have a new two-year term. An attempt by the election committee to remove Per Magnar Arnstad from the central committee ended in a total defeat for the committee.

There was little drama in advance concerning the leading candidates for the central committee. In an early stage of the committee's work, there was a move toward making Anne Enger Lahnstein the first vice-chairman and Johan Buttedahl the other. This initiative came to nothing.

The voting figures showed that all three among the leadership triumvirate have great support among their party colleagues. Jakobsen found himself with seven blank votes while the two vice-chairmen each received only one blank vote. There were 157 votes for Jakobsen, 165 for Buttedahl and 163 for Lahnstein. Without opposition, Unn Aarrestad was elected as national study leader.

In its proposal, the election committee voted 9 to 1 to remove Per Magnar Arnstad from Troms from the central committee. Seldom has an election committee received a clearer answer from a party national congress. Arnstad was elected with 151 votes, while 15 votes were given to the election committee's candidate, Age Driveklepp from Finnmark.

The president of Parliament, Lars Velstand, was reelected without question to the central committee despite the fact that a minority on the election committee wanted a different candidate. However, he was elected to the central committee.

The following were elected to the additional posts on the central committee: Borghill Brennekasa from Telemark, Gudmund Restad from More and Romsdal, and Birgit Bolset from Sogn and Fjordane.

#### Congress Boosted Election Chances

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 18 Mar 85 p 2

[Editorial: "Welcome Clarification by Center Party"]

[Text] This week's national congress of the Center Party forms the basis for a cautious optimism on the part of the non-socialists prior to the fall election. The year-long conflicts--to avoid calling it a war--concerning governing cooperation appears to be a bygone stage. And it is a liberation for more than the party's reelected chairman, Johan J. Jakobsen.

The conclusion is clear enough. The Center Party is more united than for many decades and it approaches the election with a promise of continued cooperation. It would be wrong to say that it is a party which is permeated by surprises. But that is something one should not demand of a party which finds itself at a low point in the public opinion polls and which has problems in finding itself and voters again.

The Center Party's political importance, however, is considerably greater than voter support would suggest. Within the non-socialist governing coalition, which is the only real alternative to a socialist government, the Center Party has a mission. Jakobsen must be thanked for having cleaned up the often confusing cooperation debate which has afflicted the party like a nightmare.

But when on Sunday he said that the party now can straighten its back again after having received an infusion of strength, it strikes us as being a significant exaggeration. In view of the destructive conflict which the party has behind itself, we understand that he is satisfied with this year's peaceful gathering. But the absence of open fighting is not necessarily a sign of life.

One of the reasons that the political debate became so surprisingly peaceful is that the delegates in a difficult situation found it more important to form a defensive perimeter around the party rather than expressing itself precisely. The resolution on space arms thus became a minor compromise which seemingly satisfies all and can be interpreted partly as support for the government and partly as a declaration of distrust.

We anxiously await what will happen further concerning the demand that Norway--under given, but very diffuse conditions--should oppose the American research program. The resolution is about as vague as a clarification as the issue of governing cooperation was clear in advance.

The only surprising aspect of the debate was a discouraging plea from Member of Parliament Lars Velsand who nearly asked the Center Party to conclude by talking about cooperation. For Velsand, it is a matter of a "razor-sharp battle" between three parties and "conflicts which must be brought out in the open."

No better than we understand, he bends himself reluctantly to the fact that the Center Party must seek political influence through cooperation. But the condition for cooperating in a government obviously must be a cultivated battle position. This seems to us to be the worst possible starting point. But we are calmed by Jakobsen's clear emphasis that the Center Party has found its place within a compulsory cooperation. We assume that Velsand's fighting position belongs to a bygone era.

12578

CSO: 3639/97



POLITICAL

PORTUGAL

SOVIET YOUTH DELEGATION VISITS FOIA

Lisbon AVANTE! in Portuguese 14 Mar 85 p 7

[Text] From 26 February to 6 March, a delegation from the Leninist Communist Youth League[KOMSOMOL] of the Soviet Union visited Portugal at the invitation of the Portuguese Communist Youth organization [JCP].

The Soviet delegation, consisting of the deputy chief of the organization department of the KOMSOMOL Central Committee and a member of the Committee on Youth Organizations, was in Lisbon, and traveled to Algarve.

During their stay in our country, the Soviet youths, both members of the Soviet National Preparatory Committee for the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students, had an opportunity to report on the progress of the preparatory work for receiving thousands of young people in their capital and to become informed on the actual status of Portuguese youth.

Their program consisted of meetings with the JCP national directorate, Catholic Worker Youth, Socialist Youth, and also the national preparatory committee for the 12th Festival.

At Algarve, the Soviet delegation had occasion to meet with the Regional Organization Directorate of the PCP [Portuguese Communist Party] of Algarve, and with JCP's DORAL [Algarve Region Organization Directorate]. The delegation, which stayed with young people from the Faro People's Cooperative, visited a cork factory and another fish canning plant, also visiting Foia (where the PS [Socialist Party]/PSD [Social Democratic Party] government and NATO are attempting to construct a missile tracking base), and met with a delegation from the "Leave Algarve in Peace" movement, and with the town council of the Municipal Chamber of Vila Real de Santo Antonio.

During their visit, the Soviet youths (who had been invited to the 7 November celebrations but to whom the Portuguese Government did not give visas until their very departure date) debated with Portuguese young people on matters relating to the planning of the 12th Festival and the actual Soviet situation.



The delegation from the Leninist KOMSOMOL met with a delegation from the PCP Central Committee, comprised of Comrade Manuel Pedro, member of the Central Committee, and Comrade Manuela Bernardino, from the PCP's international section.

This visit was very important to the JCP, because it "attested to the excellent bonds and cooperation that exist between the Soviet youth and Portuguese youth, and between JCP and the Leninist KOMSOMOL."

2909

CSO: 3542/148

POLITICAL

PORTUGAL

PCP DELEGATION TO VISIT YEMEN, FAR EAST

Lisbon AVANTE! in Portuguese 7 Mar 85 p 2

[Text] "This is the first time that a PCP [Portuguese Communist Party] delegation has visited the People's Republic of Kampuchea," Comrade Octavio Pato, member of the Political Commission and of the Central Committee Secretariat, noted last Monday, moments before he left for the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, whence he will travel to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, leading a delegation which also includes Comrade Domingos Lopes, of the International Section.

Speaking of the purpose of the trip, which is at the express invitation of the parties of the respective countries, Comrade Octavio Pato said that it "reflects our interest in seeing, at first hand, the reality of these countries to which the Portuguese Communists are linked in the struggle which they have conducted and are conducting for independence and the building of socialism," as well as the strengthening of our fraternity and solidarity with the respective peoples and parties.

Since Yemen is the first country which the POP delegation will visit, and considering that several delegations from the Arab world have had contacts with the PCP recently, we asked about the significance of this visit. Octavio Pato stressed the various relations between the PCP and the Arab world: "The trip is not dissociated from this fact," he said.

The Portuguese Communists have always been in active solidarity with the struggle of the people of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. This trip may include a visit to the southern part of the country, to Ho Chi Minh city, which was wrested from the imperialist yoke about 10 years ago.

The trip to the People's Republic of Kampuchea had been planned for some time, but became possible only now. Octavio Pato made a point of stressing the significance of the trip to this Asiatic country, "considering the difficulties that still prevent the political stabilization of the country."

Finally, he said he was convinced that the visit by the PCP delegation to these three countries would strengthen the bonds of friendship between the PCP and the respective parties.

6362

CSO: 3542/138

POLITICAL

PORTUGAL

JARDIM: COUNTRY INSTRUMENT OF FOREIGN STRATEGIES

Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese 8 Mar 85 pp 6-7

[Text of interview with Alberto Joao Jardim, governor of Madeira, by Maria Virginia de Aguiar, date and place not supplied]

[Excerpt] "No one has the right to affront the future," said Alberto Joao Jardim, aged 42, former journalist, educated in the law and, for the past 7 years, president of the Government of the Autonomous Region of Madeira, in an exclusive political interview with O JORNAL. Alberto Joao Jardim is a member of the Council of State, president of the Regional Political Commission of the PSD [Social Democratic Party], national leader of the party and Portugal's representative in the Conference of Local and Regional Governments of the Council of Europe. Above all, in these difficult times, he is a courageous and farsighted politician.

Question: I recall that when you looked favorably on the political recourse to the central bloc, you managed to give it an image of credibility and hope, not only in the islands but on the mainland, because, as now, it was needed to respond to the most urgent questions and to afford a more universal dialogue. This whole approach appeared to be more reasonable then. Why did you lose faith in the central bloc?

Answer: I believed in the central bloc. It had all the conditions to bring together, in a national recovery program, the largest majority since 1974 which could identify with the planned objectives and the acts and practices of daily life.

It would have been the great change in Portuguese society, but all this failed, not because this vast majority of Portuguese who identified with this goal ceased to be, but because this vast majority of Portuguese no longer identified with the central bloc. The central bloc failed itself; it was not the Portuguese who were lacking or who failed it.

The Portuguese have not gone along with the performance of this central bloc, inasmuch as it was not trying to bring about change; the Portuguese feel it is necessary to find a different solution which would change the socialist system.

It is not a question of Right or Left, in the conventional sense. It is, again, a matter of uniting the majority of the Portuguese behind a national project, and not a personal project of party leaders, a national project without which Portugal will not change, just as it will not change without the support and participation of this significant majority of the Portuguese people.

#### Tool of Foreign Strategies

Question: The leaders in the islands are viewed with suspicion by the mainland leaders, while at the same time, paradoxically, their popularity is rising particularly among the most disadvantaged classes. Evidence of this, in the case of Alberto Joao Jardim, is an undeniable rise in the presidential polls. We will get to that....For now, would you simply answer the question: are you a nationalist?

Answer: I am a nationalist in the democratic sense of the word. This means that, regardless of alliances, I place the interests of my country above any bloc interests; it means that I have a sense of personal solidarity with all Portuguese, regardless of their political beliefs, as long as they are not playing into the foreigners' hands.

Portugal is becoming simply a tool of foreign strategies. It happens that the system is maintained at the cost of short- and medium-term foreign loans, which are not even going for investment or to create jobs, but which are making money for the foreign banks, from their prompt repayment. Paradoxically, our powerful allies are not involving their central banks in an emergency aid plan for Portugal, a type of Marshall Plan that, because of its domestic effects, would give us a stronger voice.

Our government has proved unable to win this from the allies, so Portugal is too weak to pressure or make demands on its allies, and has less and less diplomatic bargaining power.

This political system, although it is called socialist, favors capitalism in the way it has neutralized Portugal.

#### Lost Africa Twice

Question: Is this why we have been replaced by Brazil and Spain as the preferred spokesman for the Portuguese-speaking African countries?

Answer: In difficult areas of Latin America or the Middle East, it is useful to certain Western powers to have a chief of state or government in the orbit of international socialism as an intermediary, but this has served to discredit Portugal with certain Portuguese-speaking African capitals, where we have come to be viewed simply as agents for other powers.

We have lost Africa twice. We have lost our historical and cultural capacity for clear and faithful relations of mutual cooperation with countries to which we have an obligation of friendship, and this is harmful to the Portuguese people.

The foreign need to maintain the present Portuguese political system has led to the resort of arranging a candidate to the right of Dr Mario Soares, a grey-haired candidate with the limitations of a military background, so that if the Socialist candidate fails there will be at least someone who will continue on the path of Gen Ramalho Eanes and not meddle with the system.

And we are going to go on watching the parade.

#### Troubled by Referendum

Question: In light of your analysis, it is hard to see why Mota Pinto is wagering so strongly on this, as you say, "grey-haired" military man....

Answer: Really, his stubbornness astonishes me. A true leader must find the solution that will best unite the efforts of the group. To stubbornly insist on a military candidate, which is a factor for division, is strange for a man whom I consider clear-thinking and patriotic.

Question: Then why tear the PSD apart for the sake of sheer obstinacy? Will the referendum clarify things and bring the PSD back together?

Answer: I would be lying if I said I were not concerned. This is a place where Costa Andrade is right, although it was unacceptable for him to call the referendum--a process which has been a badge of the PDS--a "fraud."

In fact, the referendum should have presented PSD names, in authentic primary elections in the North American style.

Now, everyone should take part, because the PSD ranks must be faithful to the principle of the referendum that the party has always defended. But there will be difficulties.

Question: What difficulties?

Answer: First, we could look ridiculous to the country if the rank and file should say that the party is unable to manage a candidacy and that the only solution is outside the party.

Second, if the referendum points to a party member, is there anyone who would later be able to convince everyone that he has the conditions, that he is in fact ready for change? Wouldn't this start another debate over individuals?

Third, let us suppose that, disastrously, the referendum should choose an independent. Could anyone be sure that the choice was for a military officer or a civilian, or who this military or civilian candidate would be?

Fourth, who could convince everyone that this independent would be any guarantee of changing the system, if this is the result of the plebiscite?

#### Weakness of Firmino Miguel

Question: Tell me frankly, do you have something personal against Gen Firmino Miguel?



Answer: No. Quite the contrary. I have great respect for him as a military officer, but I do not forget that he failed the First Provisional Government politically, when Sa Carneiro needed him to avert the Palma Carlos crisis. Sa Carneiro needed a forceful individual at his side for the political confrontation between the military on the ill-fated afternoon of the CASA0 meeting, in which Melo Antunes and the military of the revolutionary pathology predominated.

Nor do I forget the passive and conformist role which Firmino Miguel played when he was a minister of Mario Soares. And, as it happens, it was not by chance that Sa Carneiro preferred to take his chances with Soares Carneiro and did not fall back on Firmino Miguel.

Question: You have always been an unhesitant man, with great affirmative strength. You are seen as a skillful politician and a man who likes risk. If this is the case, tell me: are you going to run for president?

Answer: The answer depends on two things: my party and me.

If my party wishes it, and I do not think it will, because there are people in the PSD who are also well placed in the system. The answer also rests with me. I would set these conditions: first, I would have to be the candidate of the party and not of any faction. Second, I would have to have the support of all the political forces who are not part of the Socialist organization, even if this means accepting the idea of not running as a PSD leader but as president of the Regional Government of Madeira.

All these demands may seem strange, but in politics I only know how to play to win. With this alliance of political forces, we can go to more than 50 percent, if only in the second round, because most Portuguese with any conscience have already lost faith in the present system and want a new Portugal, in which the democratic regime will not continue to be threatened and the most disadvantaged will not continue to be shamefully deceived.

Question: And if you win the election?

Answer: A referendum. A new constitution. Decent and equal treatment of all Portuguese, whatever their political beliefs. The most competent people in the right positions. Moreover, an ecumenical foreign policy (because this is the historic mission of a Portugal that lives on in communities all over the world. Without impeding entry into the EEC, but protecting the interests of the millions of Portuguese workers in Europe for whom there is no labor market here. An investment policy to attract capital, and solidarity with our allies to the same extent that we receive solidarity.

6362

CS0: 3542/138

POLITICAL

PORTUGAL

POLL RESULTS: PINTASILGO AHEAD THANKS TO SUPPORT BY WOMEN

Lisbon SEMANARIO in Portuguese 2 Mar 85 pp 9-10

[Article by Margarida Viegas]

[Text] It is the war of the sexes: the women are making Lourdes Pintasilgo unbeatable in this new NORMA-SEMANARIO poll on the presidential election that was conducted between 15 and 25 February. For their part, the men give the victory to Soares. But the profound aversion to Soares on the part of the ladies would be enough to keep him out of the second round if Jardim were also a candidate. Strangely, Jardim's support is not reduced--quite the contrary--by the substantial number of votes given to Firmino Miguel, who has now returned to the list of possible candidates.

In addition to being a presidential election year, 1985 is shaping up as the big test of political polls themselves: will Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo be the splendid candidate she seems to be? Is Soares doomed to be squeezed out in the first round between engineer Pintasilgo and the candidates to his right?

That is the scenario that is being monotonously repeated. Although Soares receives the second largest number of votes on the first list of hypothetical candidates, he is nevertheless well behind the combined total for Lucas Pires and Firmino Miguel--confirming the idea that the concentration or multiplication of candidates to his right may have a decisive influence on the final outcome. On the second list, which includes Alberto Joao Jardim, Jardim would definitely be the one facing Pintasilgo in the second round, with Soares coming in no better than third.

Oddly, Firmino Miguel--who appears on both lists--achieves better results on the list that has him facing the Madeiran leader [Jardim]. One would have to say that instead of contending for the same terrain, they enlarge it. Between the two of them, they get 26.2 percent of the vote, or more than Pintasilgo's 21.7 percent.

For his part, Adelino da Palma Carlos, who is included on the first list as the possible precursor of an Eanist candidate--or, more accurately, a candidate

### Poll Results

#### For which of these candidates would you vote? (List 1)

| Candidate         | Total | Coimbra | Evora | Lisbon | Porto | Vila Real | Viseu |
|-------------------|-------|---------|-------|--------|-------|-----------|-------|
| L. Pintasilgo     | 23.8  | 24.2    | 35.7  | 22.7   | 25.7  | 32.0      | 11.2  |
| Mario Soares      | 12.0  | 12.9    | 9.2   | 14.0   | 6.7   | 19.6      | 10.8  |
| Firmino Miguel    | 10.9  | 2.5     | 15.1  | 14.1   | 4.9   | 4.8       | 2.8   |
| Lucas Pires       | 10.1  | 9.3     | 9.1   | 10.2   | 10.0  | 9.9       | 12.6  |
| A. Palma Carlos   | 2.0   | 0.9     | 7.1   | 1.1    | 3.8   | 0.6       | 3.0   |
| None of the above | 33.4  | 40.3    | 16.9  | 28.8   | 45.1  | 29.7      | 48.0  |
| No answer         | 7.7   | 9.8     | 7.0   | 9.1    | 3.8   | 3.4       | 11.7  |

#### For which of these would you vote? (List 2)

| Candidate         | Total | Sex  |        | Age   |      | Socioeconomic class |      |      |
|-------------------|-------|------|--------|-------|------|---------------------|------|------|
|                   |       | Male | Female | 18-44 | 45+  | A/B                 | C    | D    |
| L. Pintasilgo     | 21.7  | 15.2 | 27.6   | 24.6  | 19.1 | 15.3                | 25.0 | 18.5 |
| A. Joao Jardim    | 14.1  | 14.1 | 14.1   | 15.6  | 12.7 | 21.2                | 12.2 | -    |
| Mario Soares      | 12.8  | 17.3 | 8.8    | 10.4  | 15.1 | 10.0                | 13.5 | 19.8 |
| Firmino Miguel    | 12.1  | 15.3 | 9.3    | 7.4   | 16.5 | 15.2                | 11.9 | -    |
| None of the above | 30.7  | 32.4 | 29.1   | 31.4  | 30.1 | 29.2                | 29.4 | 51.7 |
| No answer         | 8.5   | 5.6  | 11.0   | 10.6  | 6.5  | 9.1                 | 8.0  | 9.9  |

### Previous Polls

| Candidate       | May  | June | July | Sept | Oct  | November |        | December |        | January |        |
|-----------------|------|------|------|------|------|----------|--------|----------|--------|---------|--------|
|                 |      |      |      |      |      | List 1   | List 2 | List 1   | List 2 | List 1  | List 2 |
| Pintasilgo      | 26.2 | 22.0 | 22.3 | 18.0 | 15.4 | 22.5     | 22.5   | 25.7     | 26.8   | 25.0    | 26.4   |
| Mario Soares    | 13.8 | 12.4 | 10.3 | 8.2  | 14.4 | 12.0     | 12.4   | 17.2     | 16.5   | 11.1    | 9.9    |
| A. Joao Jardim  |      |      |      |      |      |          | 15.2   |          | 13.2   |         | 13.2   |
| Lucas Pires     |      |      |      | 6.2  | 9.8  | 7.2      |        | 5.4      |        | 13.9    |        |
| Mota Pinto      | 8.2  | 8.2  | 3.4  | 5.4  | 6.7  |          |        |          |        |         |        |
| Pinto Balsemao  |      |      |      |      |      | 4.2      |        | 7.1      |        | 3.3     |        |
| Firmino Miguel  | 1.3  | 5.8  | 4.4  | 5.1  | 4.6  |          |        |          |        |         |        |
| Franco Nogueira |      |      |      |      | 2.2  |          |        |          |        |         |        |
| Costa Bras      |      | 1.0  |      | 0.7  | 1.5  |          |        |          |        |         |        |
| None            | 24.9 | 25.9 | 39.0 | 29.3 | 29.4 | 34.1     | 37.4   | 33.0     | 32.6   | 37.5    | 39.1   |
| No answer       | 9.1  | 10.1 | 10.7 | 27.0 | 16.3 | 5.1      | 5.1    | 7.6      | 7.5    | 7.5     | 21.4   |

supported by the new Democratic Renewal Party [PRD]--garners no more than 2 percent, a figure similar, incidentally, to that obtained by Salgado Zenha in a previous poll. But since about 40 percent of those polled are still not expressing an opinion, that fact carries no further significance, all the more since it appears obvious that those interviewed did not associate Palma Carlos with the PRD. Such an association would be purely arbitrary in any case.

As usual, NORMA broke down the poll results in both cases by city, sex, age, and socioeconomic class. Also as usual, space limitations lead us to reproduce only part of the respective tables, which as a matter of fact are very instructive. Note that the lists of hypothetical candidates were presented to the interviewees in alphabetical order. For the reader's convenience, we list them here in the order of their results.

#### Ladies' Candidate

Although she has dropped an average of 3 points since the January poll, Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo--who differs from the others by being the only admitted and committed candidate--is still enjoying first place. A more careful look reveals, however, that her boat is being rocked by high waves: she is up by a spectacular 10 points or so in Porto and Vila Real but down significantly in Lisbon, Viseu, and Evora.

Moreover, and for the first time in these polls, her victory is no longer uniform in several respects. In Viseu--surprise--the candidate is beaten by Lucas Pires. And the men are definitely not in favor of a woman for president of the republic: on the first list, they give Pintasilgo second place (with first place going to Soares), and on the second list they support her even less, placing her third (with Soares first and Firmino second). When it gets down to it, her male supporters are not as chivalrous as Arnaldo de Matos took them to be in a statement to our newspaper some time ago. On the other hand, feminine enthusiasm for the woman candidate is ardent, so much so that the ladies almost ignore the other candidates.

Another noteworthy change from previous polls concerns her lack of support in the highest socioeconomic class, which used to place Pintasilgo first as a matter of course. This time it prefers Lucas Pires on the first list and Joao Jardim on the second, where, in addition, Pintasilgo is ahead of Firmino by only one-tenth of a percent. It is the middle class that is remaining Pintasilgist, while the lower class divides its affections between the lady and Soares.

#### Men's Candidate

It is true that Soares says he has not yet made a definite decision to be a candidate. He is unquestionably preferred by the men on both lists, and also on both lists, the women put him in fourth place--with only Adelino da Palma Carlos doing worse. Does this signify a housewives' revolt against prices?

The upper class wants nothing to do with him--here again he is assured of fourth place. The middle class, more charitable, puts him in second place, behind Pintasilgo.

Overall, and as the tables show, Soares is also number two on the first list. But by city, he is in second place only in Coimbra and Vila Real, since Firmino Miguel has pushed him into third place in Evora and Lisbon, and Lucas Pires has done the same in Porto and Viseu.

Things are worse on the second list, where the addition of Alberto Joao Jardim pushes the Socialist leader into third place in the overall count. Otherwise, he places third only in Lisbon. In Vila Real, Viseu, and Coimbra, he is in second place (and only one-tenth of a percent behind Pintasilgo), while in Evora and Porto, he drops to fourth place with very meager support.

Like Firmino Miguel, Soares meets with more approval among those over 45 years of age than among the younger groups, while the opposite is true of Pintasilgo, Lucas Pires, and Joao Jardim.

#### Older Groups for Firmino

Firmino Miguel, who is now included in the poll again after disappearing from it in October, when he had 4.6 percent, does in fact find a more friendly reception among older people, who put him in second place, just behind Pintasilgo. Overall, however, and even though the percentage of votes he attracts--10.9 percent on the first list and 12.1 percent on the second--must be considered significant, Firmino is beaten by both Alberto Joao Jardim and Soares.

Support for his candidacy is very uneven: Lisbon gives him 14.1 percent on both lists, and that, oddly, puts him in second place on the first list and only in fourth place on the second list, while he is very well received in Evora (with 15.1 and 16.1 percent), where only Pintasilgo surpasses him. On the second list, he is exactly even with Jardim.

But in Vila Real and Porto, his support drops to much more modest levels. In Porto, his support increases somewhat when Lucas Pires, who does very well there, is dropped from the list. In Viseu and especially in Coimbra--where, on the second list, he garners only 0.7 percent--Firmino's results are pitiful.

Ignored by the lower class (as is Joao Jardim, for that matter), Firmino shows a vocation for third place among the upper and middle classes, although the latter puts him in fourth place on the second list.

#### Lucas' Star

Lucas Pires does very well. His support is down a little from January, but with his 10.1 percent overall, he chalks up two victories in this poll on the list where his name is included: he places first in Viseu and in the opinion of the upper socioeconomic class. Also not to be disregarded is the fact that he is in second place with the youngest voters.

Although in fourth place in the overall ranking, this candidate, preferred by the well off and the young, is ahead of Firmino in Coimbra, Vila Real and Viseu, and also in Porto, where he occupies second place. Unfortunately for him, the lower class ignores him, and even the middle class puts him at the tail end.

Firmly in second place, Jardim is doing better than he did in January, and only Pintasilgo is ahead of him. But the country is divided on whether he is presidential timber: while Lisbon, Porto, and especially Evora back him strongly, Vila Real, Viseu, and Coimbra (where he stands at 4.2 percent) show extremely moderate support for him. On the list that includes his name but not that of



Lucas Pires, he repeats with greater brilliance the successes of the centrist leader and emerges as the candidate preferred by the upper class and as the second most popular candidate among young voters.

But Jardim seems to have indefectibly loyal supporters, since his inclusion on the second list reduces the percentage of interviewees unwilling to vote for any of the suggested candidates.

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POLITICAL

PORTUGAL

LOCAL ELECTIONS POINT TO APU DOMINANCE AROUND LISBON

Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese 8 Mar 85 p 13

[Article by R.S.: "APU Encircling Lisbon"]

[Text] Slowly but surely, the APU [United People's alliance] is encircling Lisbon. Doggedly, it is approaching the city. It has the chambers of Almada, Setubal, Vila Franca de Xira, Loures and Amadora, to list only some of them. It would like to win Lisbon from Abecasis (former AD [Democratic Alliance]) and Pedro Coelho (the PS [Socialist Party] candidate in the next local elections).

It is understandable. Lisbon is the political pulse of the nation; it is a decisive district, with over 22 percent of the national electorate. It has 6 of the 10 most populous subdistricts.

The APU's rise in Lisbon District has been unstoppable. In 1976 it had 1 chamber, in 1982 it won 5; in 1976 it won the elections in 19 parishes, 6 years later it took 60.

Today the Communists believe it is possible to win 20 more parishes in the local elections. In new elections they have never lost a chamber in which they had held a majority. On the contrary, they have strengthened some majorities. At the district level, they picked up 126,000 votes in 6 years (from 1976 to 1982), reaching 30.7 percent.

What do the Communists and their local allies in the APU claim as the reasons for their continued growth? Competence and honesty. In effect, at the local level, the APU has had a positive image with the electorate, except for the cases of the Parish Board of Brandoa, where there were charges of embezzlement, and the Chamber of Loures, where the opposition criticized the administration of Severiano Falcao.

Today, the local APU office-holders can say that, 1 year from the end of their term, they have already carried out 70 percent of the electoral platform in the chambers where they have a majority in Lisbon District (Vila Franca de Xira, Loures, Azambuja and Amadora).

They can denounce the rampant irregularities in the other chambers where they are in the minority and are also pushed aside. Examples of this are the municipalities of Lisbon and Sintra (here the APU has more than 30 percent of the votes, yet it was not given a single branch of the municipal services).

## Odor of Corruption

The local APU office-holders could be populists in the case of Cascais, which has a very specific social fabric (upper- and middle-class bourgeoisie, sports, luxury tourism, etc), but it is also an anomaly, because along with the Quinta de Marinha and easy money, there is also evidence of the state to which the country has come, or in which it has remained, in the corrugated tin shacks and 30 squatter neighborhoods. However, if there is an apparently populist attitude here, it ceases to be when the Communists of Lisbon District accuse a PS councilman in the Cascais Chamber of attempting to "illegally collect 400 contos in expense allowances."

It is troubling to learn that the president of the Mafra Chamber "is obliged to put back the funds that were allocated for lunch subsidies," and it is indicative that there is a new caste of sybarites when the president of the Sintra Chamber is accused of having spent thousands of contos on his new offices.

The Communists in Lisbon District have launched their pre-campaign. Their goals for the next local elections are to win the Sintra Chamber and to compete for the presidency of the chambers of Lisbon, Cascais and Oeiras. For the rest, Jose Casanova has made it very clear: sooner or later it is inevitable that the Lisbon Chamber will fall into the hands of the APU--that St George will take the castle of Abecasis.

Regarding their growth in Lisbon District, the Communists have already surpassed the proposed goal of 10,000 new members by 200 new adherents, and they are only 10,000 contos short of the 60,000 needed to buy the Hotel Vitoria, which is the headquarters of the Directorate of the Regional Organization of Lisbon District (DORL).

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POLITICAL

PORTUGAL

# POLL SHOWS PS ELECTORATE REINFORCING 'EANISTS'

Lisbon O JOURNAL in Portuguese 15-21 Mar 85 p 8

[Text] If the elections for the Assembly of the Republic were held today, with the participation of the "Eanist" party, the latter would be able to "steal" from PS [Socialist Party] the bulk of its electorate, as disclosed by a Marktest/O JORNAL poll covering the month of February.

According to that poll, the "Eanist" party appears ahead of the other parties, with 28.6 percent of the vote. Following are PSD [Social Democratic Party], with 21.3 percent, CDS [Social Democrati Center Party], with 17.1 percent, PS, with 15 percent and APU [United People's Alliance]-PCP [Portuguese Communist Party], also with 15 percent.

For the victory of an "Eanist" party (which might perhaps correspond to the newly formed PRD [Democratic Renewal Party]), PS would be the one most "sacrificed," according to the data procured by Marktest upon obtaining answers to the question, "how would the voters who in 1983 voted for PS, PSD, APU or others, or who did not vote, vote now?"

Of the voters who voted for PS in 1983, no fewer than 40.3 percent might now vote for the "Eanist" party. APU, in turn, "would contribute" 22.1 percent; PSD, 8.4 percent; and CDS, only 2.1 percent. However, the largest contribution, but relatively speaking, obviously, is presumed as being made by those who, in 1983, are grouped here in the category "others": 42.8 percent. Of those who "did not vote" that year, 23 percent would now vote for the "Eanist party."

Also according to the poll, PS would lose votes in favor of PSD (2.7 percent), APU (2.1 percent), CDS (2.6 percent) and others (2 percent), as well. Voters who voted for PSD in 1983 might, in turn, now vote for other parties, as follows: PS, 0.7 percent; APU, 0.4 percent; CDS, 13.2 percent. The APU electorate appears to be more loyal; besides the "Eanist party," it only shows an intention to "change" to CDS (0.7 percent) and to "others" (1.2 percent). The CDS electorate also shows a certain amount of stability: PS, 2.7 percent; "others," 2.7 percent.

Now, with the accounting made, it is found that of the electorate which, in 1983, voted for PS, 37.3 percent would remain loyal to it. The percentages on "loyalty" in the other parties give us a very high figure for CDS, with 69.7 percent; followed closely by APU, with 68.3 percent; and PSD, with 64.4 percent.

Since August of last year, this is the first time that the intention to "change" among 1983 Socialist voters to the "Eanist party" has exceeded the 40 percent barrier. In August, this percentage was 34.2; and, the next month, 36, dropping to 34.5 percent in October. The lowest figure was reached in November, with 31.8 percent, but during the final month of 1984 a recovery to 33.1 percent occurred, and the percentage reached 40.3 in February of this year.

The "attrition" caused in the other parties by the "Eanist party" has also undergone fluctuations, but the figures reached are certainly modest, with the exception of APU. Let's observe the situation in each one of them, since August of last year, in relative figures: PSD: 5, 4.9, 7.6, 7, 8.7, 8.4; APU: 24.7, 20.1, 15.4, 18.8, 19.8, 22.1; CDS: 1.7, 4.2, 4.6, 6, 3.2, 2.1.

2909

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POLITICAL

PORTUGAL

# INDECISION SEEN PREVAILING AMONG PARTIES

Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese 16 Mar 85 p 8

[Editorial: "In the Realm of Indecision"]

[Text] In the political country, the indecision may never have been so great as it is now.

PSD [Social Democratic Party] has one foot in the government and the other outside the government, about to cite "Soarism" as its principal enemy and, simultaneously, continuing to form a coalition headed by Dr Mario Soares.

In the area of presidential strategy, the Social Democrats' situation is no better.

Moreover, it is so bad that the party's leadership does not want to assume responsibility for selecting its candidate, foisting the issue on the rank and file. This does not fail to be odd in a party which is still nurturing the veneration of a man who not only selected the name of the candidate for the presidency of the republic alone, but also had the courage to stake his political future on the success or failure of that candidacy.

But, in fact, indecision is not an exclusive feature of PSD today.

The Socialist Party has also shown itself to be incapable of putting order in the government that it should be leading, with the admission that its partner in the coalition has been constantly uttering statements offending its dignity.

What is apparent is that the Socialists are currently willing to accept all the abuse and to subject all their interests (including the government's interests) to Mario Soares' presidential strategy. Now this too does not fail to be surprising in a party whose secretary general systematically declines to discuss his candidacy for the presidency with the argument that, first of all, the country's problems have to be solved.

In spite of everything, all this would not be disturbing if the country at least had an opposition; that is, if it had an alternative. But there is none.

The two parties comprising the opposition to the government, in addition to being the smallest in numbers of voters, will never be able to reach an understanding to overthrow the central bloc. And, this being the case, they have ended up being entirely dependent on third parties.

PCP [Portuguese Communist Party] depends on the Eanist party to emerge from the "ghetto" in which it has voluntarily confined itself and to be able to aspire to having some influence on the government.

As for CDS [Social Democratic Center Party], it is dependent on PSD, not only with regard to the possible recomposition of a right wing bloc, but also concerning the presidential strategy: having to wait for the Social Democrats to select their candidate in order to decide whether or not it should run a candidacy of its own.

From the area of the parties, the indecision extends to the presidency of the republic.

General Eanes seems more undecided now than ever before.

On the one hand, he has not succeeded in surmounting the problems posed by the candidacy for Belem of his adviser, Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo; hesitating between assuming a public position on the matter or not doing so.

On the other hand, his relations with the party that claims him for itself continue to be unfathomable.

Finally, he has continued the doubt as to whether or not Parliament is going to be dissolved, or as to whether or not he will resign from the post that he holds.

This is the picture.

The questions posed in Portugal may seldom have been so many.

Fortunately, 1985 will be a decisive year.

And we say "fortunately," because it will be difficult for a regime to survive long with such a large number of questions.

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POLITICAL

PORTUGAL

BIO DATA ON PRD'S HERMINIO MARTINHO

Lisbon SEMANARIO in Portuguese 2 Mar 85 p 10

[Text] Agricultural engineer Herminio Martinho has emerged from the external obscurity in which he spent the first 38 years of his life by being elected by acclamation to head the planned Democratic Renewal Party [PRD]--until it is established as a political party in the proper sense.

The oldest of four children of a small farmer in Tancos, Martinho--himself the father of four--is a former tenant farmer who is now a businessman farming the Rosario Estate and a full-time employee of a Swiss multinational firm. He devotes himself to politics on weekends. Politics is a recent addition to his activities, incidentally: although he is in the habit of bringing up his resistance to Goncalves in 1975--after his return from Angola, where the Revolution of 25 April caught him doing his military service--and his militant vigil on 25 November [1975], the new leader considers that he did not really begin his political life until 1980, when he was district representative for the reelection of Eanes. Concerning the shaping of his political ideas, he expresses misgivings about the dominant influence of foreign writers (viewing it as a symptom of servility) and prefers to refer to unspecified traditions.

He was a candidate in the local elections of 1979 only, he says, because he had to be a town councilor to become chairman of the Santarem National Agricultural Fair.

And it was there, and in that capacity, that he became personally acquainted with the president of the republic, whom he has since visited in the latter's home and with whom--in addition to the resemblance in physical features and gestures--he shares a convinced Catholicism. The chief force behind the movement that arose in Abrantes in June of last year for the purpose of providing Eanes with a party, Martinho was to see his dedicated efforts throughout the country crowned with success in Troia.

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POLITICAL

PORTUGAL

LIST OF MOTA PINTO SUPPORTERS

Lisbon TEMPO in Portuguese 8 Mar 85 p 9

[Article by Norberto Gouveia]

[Text] There is insistent talk of the "staff" of advisors, the "right arms," the friends of Mota Pinto. The question is asked and the speculations feed on the mystery: Who, actually, are the friends of the former leader of the Social Democrats?

The professor--like the rest of us--has his real friends, the "friends of Peniche," the "good grey friends" and, also, his enemies.

Now that Mota Pinto is out of the government posts and the leadership of the party, perhaps everyone is his friend (or appears to be) and no one is (ever was?) his enemy. As to the latter, we could cite such names as Joao Salgueiro, Silva Marques, Antonio Capucho, Rebelo de Sousa, Miguel Judice, Santana Lopes and Jose Vitorino, among others. We name only some of them, specifically those who are well known for the positions they took or, if you prefer, those who systematically pulled the rug out from under him at the most critical time....

Mota Pinto is not an isolated man, however, even if he does not have many friends. Without intending to wound any feelings and without following any specific order, we can say without hesitation that men like Galvao da Silva, Fernando Nogueira, Amandio de Azevedo, Brochado Coelho, Montalvao Machado, Mendes Bota, Vaz Portugal, Barbosa de Melo, Armenio Santos and Torres Pereira stand beside the former leader, unconditionally supporting him through the good times and the bad. As seen in the recent National Councils and as we also see at this very moment, these men are not two-faced, much less the kind of men to pull the rug out from under him.

Galvao da Silva, Mota Pinto's assistant at the University of Coimbra, served his "professor" even in the government; until a few weeks ago he was assistant secretary of state to the vice prime minister.

Fernando Nogueira and Amandio de Azevedo are in the government, the former as secretary of state for regional development and the latter as minister of labor.

Brochado Coelho is Mota Pinto's strongest and most loyal supporter in the north of the country; Brochado recently strengthened his position as party leader of Porto District. Montalvao Machado, deputy and member of the Political Commission, has supported the former leader in critical situations, as has the president of the Municipal Chamber of Loule (the only Social Democratic local government in the Algarve), who has tried (forgive the expression) to "go toe to toe" with Jose Vitorino.

Vas Portugal, who we gather is an old friend of the professor from Coimbra, is now chairing the National Planning Council and if the PSD [Social Democratic Party] should change direction again, he could be a cabinet possibility. Barbosa de Melo is also a friend of long standing; he continues to defend Mota Pinto in the National Council, of which he is a member.

Armenio Santos will be, let us say, Mota Pinto's strong man with the syndicalists, as the "soul" of the TSD, while Rorres Pereira, president of the Municipal Chamber of Sousel and of the National Association of Municipios, has been trying to hold together the hundreds of Social Democratic local governments scattered across the country.

These are, without any doubt and without any hesitation, the true friends of Mota Pinto.

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POLITICAL

PORTUGAL

#### EANES REPORTEDLY DISAPPOINTED WITH PRD

Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese 16 Mar 85 pp 1, 24

[Text] The president of the republic will assume a definitive position regarding the newly formed PRD [Democratic Renewal Party] in May, on the occasion of the party's convention. A source close to Eanes admitted that there was a likelihood that the president would say "no" to PRD which, in his own words, was "born misshapen."

As we noted here last week, Ramalho Eanes has been particularly disappointed at the disorganized manner in which the work took place in Troia, and at the rejection of draft bylaws written by Miguel Caetano and Jose Botequilha, with which he expressed his agreement earlier. The decisions made at Troia may have revealed the culmination of the dispute between the rank and file of the new party, headed by Jose Carlos de Vasconcelos (who left the editorial office of O JORNAL to devote himself more assiduously to this political project), and the Eanist national figures, including Medeiros Ferreira, Jose Rabaca, Miguel Caetano and Joao Botequilha. This situation (which prompted Jose Rabaca to consider the possibility of creating another Eanist party, before Radio Renaissance microphones), may have left Eanes particularly discouraged and ready to leave political activity after the presidential term ends.

It should be recalled that, as we remarked in the previous edition of EXPRESSO, the president may not have liked the Eanist movement to be converted into a party (which was made clear in the name adopted), and flatly refuses to have the PRD directorate and its chairman elected on separate lists (as called for in Jose Carlos Vasconcelos' draft bylaws which were approved in general). However, this latter point could still be remedied today at the meeting in Coimbra, during the voting on the bylaws in their particular aspects.

Nevertheless, another issue concerning the president of the republic is associated with Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo (with whom he met on Friday night last week and not on Saturday, as we reported by mistake). Although, at the last meeting which they held, they discussed essentially the issue of Timor (which Pintasilgo, as presidential adviser, is assigned to deal with, meeting this very week in Belem with others involved in the issue), Eanes will discuss with his collaborators the possibility of forcing a choice between the candidacy for Belem and his work in the presidency. And there is continued expectation that this intention on Eanes' part will soon be put into effect.

A source at Belem reaffirmed to us that the president has already, on three occasions, attempted to dissuade Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo from the candidacy, but that he would decide to assume a firmer position at the time that she considers the situation irreversible. Ramalho Eanes also reportedly stressed that the former prime minister did not consult him, either on the lengthy interview that she granted to EXPRESSO, or relating to the controversial statements that she made in Abrantes; which would prompt him to want to assume some stance of demarcation.

Moreover, Eanes ended the round of consultations among the state council members without assuming any public position on his succession. At Belem, they confirmed to us that the issue of the dissolution has been assigned to some council members (which EXPRESSO already reported last week); although included among other matters, and without specifically aiming at the calling of early elections. Lucas Pires himself, who just recently advocated the dissolution, now appears to be more interested in presidential elections, with which the legislative elections would be linked and which the latter would follow. The meeting between Mota Pinto and Eanes, the one that the president was looking forward to with the greatest expectations, was not conclusive. Both showed more interest in learning each other's plans than in disclosing anything about their own intentions.

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POLITICAL

SWEDEN

#### CONSERVATIVE PARTY SPOKESMAN TELLS CAMPAIGN STRATEGY

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 15 Mar 85 p 6

[Article by Willy Silberstein]

[Text] In the campaign this fall, the Conservatives will turn to more large public meetings, door-knocking, and "bolder" campaign ads.

These plans were revealed at a press conference on Thursday.

The party will campaign on the same issues as before: greater freedom for the individual in relation to society, a maximum of 40 percent in marginal taxes for normal income levels, more budget cuts, and more private initiative.

Not surprisingly, the Conservatives agree with the Social Democrats that this year's elections will be between these two parties.

"We will take the initiative in the debate. Our issues are the issues of interest," election strategists say.

#### Citizens' March

This year the Conservatives will hold more large public meetings than before. They will begin on 20 April, 2 days after a nationwide series of debates against the Social Democrats, with a citizens' march in Stockholm. In the late stages of the campaign, there will be large rallies at the Scandinavium in Goteborg and at Johanneshov in Stockholm.

Another new aspect of this year's campaign will be that the party will produce more fliers, Conservative spokesman Claes Lofgren said at the press conference on Thursday.

"Our organization can turn out 1 million fliers."

Deputy chairman Lars Tobisson said that the party would now be less concerned over what the "professional pundits" said.

## "We Have Been Prisoners"

"We must not be so afraid of what might be written in the papers. We used to crouch down when things got rough. We have been prisoners of a mode of thinking that was created by the Social Democrats during the thirties."

The opinion polls commissioned by the Conservatives themselves confirmed the SIFO (Swedish Institute for Public Opinion Polls) results, namely that there is much indecision among the voters and that distrust of politicians is on the rise.

"It is healthy for people to realize that the politicians cannot do everything and that the individual must have more influence. We are also seeing that people are prepared to reevaluate their old loyalties," Tobisson said.

## Targeting Youth

He also said that the party's opinion polls had indicated that the Conservatives were making headway among workers, especially younger ones, and among lower-level white-collar workers.

"We have noticed that younger people, in general, like our Conservative policies. We intend to target young people in the campaign, but without forgetting the elderly," Tobisson said.

Can he guarantee that the promises the Conservatives make during the campaign will become reality under a nonsocialist government?

"We guarantee that this will happen if we obtain enough influence. If we achieve a nonsocialist majority in the elections, then we will move in the direction we have indicated."

On Thursday, Liberal Party leader Bengt Westerberg attacked the Conservatives for not indicating precisely how the Conservatives' tax reductions would be financed. Any comment?

"Westerberg said that because he used too much restraint when he decided how much the Liberal Party would reduce marginal taxes. We will finance the lower taxes by reducing housing subsidies, support to industry, and food price supports, and by freezing subsidies to local governments," Tobisson said.

Despite the criticism from Westerberg, nonsocialist cooperation is extremely good, as we enter the election campaign, according to Georg Danell.

## Close Contact

"Our contacts are closer and more intimate, but we are still independent parties. As a result, we will not conduct joint activities during the campaign."

The party has formed a campaign committee that consists of Lars Tobisson, Georg Danell, Claes Lofgren, and chief planner Goran Lennmarker. In addition, a campaign analysis group is being formed, under the leadership of Tobisson, to follow the debate and "sense" changes in public opinion.

POLITICAL

SWEDEN

# FALLDIN DISCUSSES CENTER PARTY ELECTION PLATFORM

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 15 Mar 85 p 6

[Article by Claes-Goran Kjellander]

[Text] "Environmental and quality-of-life issues went by the wayside during the economic slump and structural crisis, in the desperate struggle to save jobs."

"But they will return--you can be sure of that."

Center Party leader Thorbjorn Falldin is fighting for himself and his party--and for the policies they stand for. He is obviously convinced that the environment will be the main issue, if not this fall, at least in future elections.

The question of a new dimension in politics, which would partially replace the old right-left spectrum, is at least as alive today as it was in the early seventies, during the Golden Age of the Center Party.

"Remember," the Center Party leader said, "the right-left question is not simply a matter of economics. It deals with the influence of the individual in society and the individual as opposed to the collective."

"There are a number of such issues today--wage-earner funds, fishing, and the new law on planning and construction."

In Demand

Thorbjorn Falldin has suddenly become popular among interviewers. TV, radio, and newspaper representatives are standing in line to hear him explain why the party has gone downhill in recent opinion polls.

Other Center Party members have given some good advice: "Stop working with the Conservatives. Refrain from joining the government, even if there is a nonsocialist majority this fall. Press harder on the most important issues, such as the environment. Tone down talk about budget cuts and drop the demand for reduced compensation in the area of health insurance."



Thorbjorn Falldin nodded in recognition. He has heard all this before. In certain respects, he can understand the criticism.

"There are some cases where the Conservatives have made statements in the general debate that have tempted me," he said, "but I cannot go out and argue with them in every individual case."

"People's Wishes Highest"

"But let me mention one point. What the various parties do to carry out the results of the referendum on nuclear power is of decisive significance to us."

"We have done our share. We have accepted the wishes of the people, as expressed in the referendum, for there is nothing higher on earth than the wishes of the people. We have a right to demand the same of the other parties. And let me make this perfectly clear: It is extremely important to us that the phasing out of nuclear power be completed."

The question of whether or not to join the government will depend on how the parties behave during the campaign, but a decision will be made only after election day.

"Then we will know how the voters have voted. We will know how the parties acted during the campaign. We will also know how the parties accept the election results."

"So far, we have no reason to change our two goals: a nonsocialist majority in parliament and a majority government," Thorbjorn Falldin said.

"Lack Of Interest"

Thorbjorn Falldin believes it is perfectly natural to stress environmental issues. There is a strong desire for this on the part of all those who see acid rain and other environmental destruction as a mortal danger. There are obstacles in the way, however, and one of the greatest obstacles is a lack of interest on the part of political journalists.

"The fact that the largest parties come first is one thing, but sometimes the large daily papers act in a manner that astounds me," Falldin said.

"Take, for example, our motion on the collective membership of unions in the Social Democratic Party. There was no reaction when the motion was presented in written form. Only when legal counsel declared our proposal to be consistent with the constitution and we had taken a decisive step toward abolishing collective membership, was anything written about it--and we, as initiators of the bill, were not even mentioned."

"If it had been a Conservative motion, the words 'Conservative Proposal' would have appeared in the headlines."

### More Meetings This Spring

Out in the country it is easier for the Center Party to get its message across. This is one of the reasons why Thorbjorn Falldin has scheduled more meetings this year than in previous campaigns. He is not worried by the fact that other party leaders traveled much more during the winter.

"We are stressing the period from April to June." In his speeches, Thorbjorn Falldin is stressing points that are not coming across in the media.

"We are saying that austerity is necessary, but in our policies it is combined with a policy of fair distribution, in the form of protection against catastrophic hospital costs, protection for long-term patients, additional assistance to the lowest-paid pensioners, to families with more than one child, and others."

Another matter that needs explaining is the Dagmar proposal.

### Explaining Dagmar

"I must admit that the most important aspect of the proposal has not reached the public, namely the distribution of subsidies to the various county councils. Stockholm can establish as many positions for doctors as it wants, but under the new system it must pay for them itself."

"Under the old system, people in rural areas who did not have access to doctors themselves had to help pay for doctors in Stockholm."

He does not believe that it was unreasonable for the county council in Stockholm to reject certain part-time doctors in the inner city and in the northern suburbs.

"It is important to have an even distribution of doctors in Stockholm, where communities in the south are worst off."

"But remember that we are constantly working to increase the number of practicing doctors, both full-time and part-time."

### Calm Over KDS

What about the arrangement with KDS (Christian People's Party)?

"There has been trouble in Varmland, but that had to do with a single person. Things are calm and we are getting along well in the rest of the country," Falldin said.

Everything has gone more or less according to plan, he said. "Those who were skeptical from the beginning now see a connection between our cooperation with KDS and the results in the opinion polls, but that is part of the game."

POLITICAL

SWEDEN

PALME ON ELECTION TRAIL REVEALS 'POLITICAL DILEMMA' FOR SDP

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 18 Mar 85 p 2

[Editorial: "Around Country and Kingdom"]

[Text] Last Friday Olof Palme completed his first journey along this year's campaign trail. He would personally rev up the Social Democratic election machine, travel more than anyone else, speak at more rallies, and meet more voters than anyone around him.

This strategy says something about the significance his movement--and he himself--attributes to Olof Palme.

The beginning of the Social Democratic campaign is a reflection of the party's latest term in office. In many respects, it has been a one-man-show. At times, Kjell-Olof Feldt has competed with the prime minister for attention, but the most salient feature of the Palme II government has been the total dominance he personally has exercised.

This is something of a new situation for the Social Democratic Party which, to be sure, has had strong leaders, but has dominated the scene with its policies rather than through its leaders. In the past, there also has been more breadth at the top than there is today. With the exception of Feldt, little has been heard from cabinet members and when they have spoken, the leadership wished they had remained silent. Party secretary Bo Torresson is the weakest person to hold that position in modern times.

Thus, the Social Democrats have personnel problems that they probably have not had since the party began to play a role in Swedish politics. But the party also has political problems. In the absence of interesting policies, they are concentrating on interesting people.

The political content of Olof Palme's speeches during the past 10 days presents a clear picture of the political dilemma of the Social Democrats. The Conservatives are playing a disproportionately large role in their propaganda. The Conservative proposals for reform are not nearly as far-reaching or radical as Olof Palme indicates when he speaks of Conservative demands for changes in the system.

This is also made clear when the chairman of the Social Democratic Party, as his main argument against a change in government, resorts to stating that hip operations would cease and peewee sports would die a natural death. It is one thing that this type of argument has always been part of the Social Democratic propaganda against the nonsocialists--that is nothing new. What is new is that they now have nothing else to say.

Their manner of dealing with their own issues leaves an impression of carelessness and uncertainty. When Olof Palme began his campaign swing through the rural districts, the Social Democrats' billion-kronor projects in the big cities went under. That is just as well--such accidents occur from time to time.

But what happens to people's confidence in the Social Democrats when they hear several days later that, in order to soothe campaign workers in rural areas, Olof Palme has made a proposal for equalization of taxes, the practical shape and consequences of which are unknown?

Does this not confirm their suspicions, or prejudices if you will, about politicians and the political game? Even the party's own sympathizers can see that rational arguments and considerations of equity speak in favor of the proposals their party is pursuing. Election promises create more antipathy among those they hurt than sympathy among those they favor.

And how will party activists react when campaign promises--such as the previously announced promise of partial pensions--are postponed repeatedly? They are disappointed, of course, and the ordinary voter learns that Sweden cannot afford Social Democratic policies.

It must be pointed out that the Social Democrats have been troubled by the Bodstrom affair and, especially, by the long, drawn-out wage negotiations which, by the simple fact that they are still underway, prove that the economy is still in a crisis. But both these problems are central components of the policies conducted during the past 3 years, which the voters will either approve or reject on election day. No campaign plans can hide what a government has done or not done and no governmental party can count on conducting an election campaign without having these results examined in the light of day.

The numerous scandals and economic problems demonstrate that the Social Democrats have been unable to adjust their security and economic policies to the demands of a new age.

The lack of initiative is another indication that the Social Democrats have lost their dynamic qualities. The role of the party is no longer to create something new. Its only task seems to be to maintain the status quo.

They are appealing to the conservative side of the voters in their attacks on the Conservative Party. They are not appealing to the people's desire to create a better future for themselves and their loved ones. Passivity, rather than renewal, characterizes the Social Democratic message in issue after issue.

Their reasoning tells them that even a Social Democratic government must cut back at the national and local levels and that tax increases are no longer a way out. But they are unable to build a political strategy for the new situation and, as a result, they are unable to say what a realistic Social Democratic policy would be for the rest of this century.

Their political intuition also tells them that people want less bureaucracy, fewer regulations, and greater freedom. But bound by their traditions, the interests of their own movement, and the public bureaucracy, they are unable to present a credible alternative that could create enthusiasm in an election campaign.

All they can do is scrutinize and speculate over proposed budget cuts by the Conservatives and try to incite one group after the other.

"Others malign, we keep building." This slogan once appeared on Social Democratic campaign posters.

Now the opposite is true. The Social Democrats have left the construction site and their party leaders are traveling through the country maligning others.

9336  
CSO: 3650/208



POLITICAL

SWEDEN

PAPER COMMENTS ON RIKSDAG FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 28 Mar 85 p 2

[Editorial: "Palme Continues the Conflict"]

[Text] To put the leader of the Conservative Party up against the wall--that was what the prime minister intended when he plunged into the foreign policy debate on Wednesday. Olof Palme was partially successful in casting doubts on the picture of Ulf Adelsohn as a judicious and reliable candidate for the government leadership post. But he also demonstrated his own talent for going too far.

It was mainly Adelsohn's own conduct that gave Palme some points. As soon as the prime minister decided to take part in the debate it should have been clear to both the Conservative leader and Center leader Thorbjorn Falldin that it was a mistake not to represent their parties as usual with prepared statements. It was even worse that Adelsohn hesitated for a long time to have an exchange of words with Palme in spite of the fact that he was present in Riksdag.

It seemed fortunate for the Liberal Party that Bengt Westerberg adhered to tradition. His speech dealt with important issues like our view of the Soviet Union, the crisis in the Middle East and racial oppression in South Africa. As the only opposition spokesman to bring up the lack of confidence in Lennart Bodstrom's ability to represent Swedish foreign policy he did not try to duck the problems created 7 weeks ago when the opposition presented a motion of no confidence in the foreign minister.

Both Adelsohn and Falldin may have originally counted on defusing security policy somewhat by letting others do the talking. It was Falldin's bad luck that Karin Soder was ill. But as far as Adelsohn was concerned Carl Bildt made a well-considered effort to calm down this year's foreign policy debate.

During what might be called the normal part of the debate several objective points were made. The opposition approved the government's foreign policy statement with the exception of the section on the Middle East. But it was good that the foreign minister said during the debate that he was prepared to take the negotiation initiative of the Jordanian king and the Egyptian president seriously. But Bodstrom did not give a satisfactory explanation of why

the government had failed to raise the question of South African exemptions with the Foreign Policy Board.

The debate also made it clear that all Swedish parties are critical of some elements of the U.S. embargo policy. Carl Bildt stressed the importance of international solidarity for Sweden's security. His criticism of both superpowers on several points was of such a nature that the objective differences between the views of the government and the Conservatives on foreign policy have rarely seemed so small.

But this did not mean much when Olof Palme got going--at a time when the debate among party leaders would normally be coming to an end. There could be no doubt that the prime minister's sole motive was to settle the score with the Conservatives.

Palme defined in unusually clear terms the type of opposition policy he considered acceptable. There can be differences of opinion on the exact size of defense appropriations, on how Sweden should behave with respect to various international questions and on assessing the balance of forces between the superpowers. He himself lived up to these modest requirements during his 6 years as opposition leader.

But according to Palme the Conservatives had been guilty of charging that the government behaved deferentially to the Soviet Union and presented a double message. When the Conservatives, first through Bildt and eventually through a reluctant Adelson, refused to say whether or not they stood behind this criticism, Palme launched a strong attack. He claimed he had given the party an enormous chance and instead had now seen proof that the Social Democrats would "always" get stabbed in the back--even in a "critical situation for the nation."

It is obvious that the Conservatives have often abused their privilege by sharp attacks that showed that they had little interest in preserving a sense of fellowship on security policy. One cannot switch from violent criticism to cautious support with impunity. There is room for self-examination here.

But in recent years the Conservative attacks have been motivated by the conduct of Palme and his colleagues. Bodstrom's quirks and what many regard as his ironic attitude toward recent submarine hunts are not things the prime minister can get away from by using rhetoric. A fundamental change in the mood is also due to the fact that Sweden's position is regarded as more exposed than it was when Palme was in the opposition. By wanting to decide for himself how the Swedish security debate should be conducted, Olof Palme has made himself part of the problem in a sensitive situation.

The fact that the Social Democrats have built up much of our foreign policy tradition is not the same thing as saying that criticizing them is the equivalent of damaging Sweden. Many people have a clear perception of Olof Palme's indignation. Few are likely to be fooled by election tricks.

6578

CSO: 3650/214

POLITICAL

SWEDEN

BRIEFS

VOTERS STATE COALITION PREFERENCES--Some 26 percent of Social Democratic Party sympathizers said they would accept a government made up of both the Social Democrats and VPK [Left-Communist Party]. This emerged from a SIFO [Swedish Institute for Public Opinion Polls] survey made in February and March of this year. If there is a socialist majority in the fall election but the Social Democrats fail to win a majority on their own, 28 percent of Social Democratic respondents wanted the same arrangement as there is now, namely a Social Democratic minority government. A coalition government made up of the Social Democrats and VPK was preferred by 26 percent while 20 percent preferred a coalition with the Center Party and 14 percent favored a coalition with the Liberals. Some 7 percent would prefer a coalition between the Social Democrats and the two middle parties. A majority, 55 percent, of nonsocialist supporters favored the formation of a three-party government if they win an election victory. Some 17 percent preferred a straight Conservative government, 9 percent a middle-party government and an equal number a government consisting of the Conservatives and the Liberals. [Text] [Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 20 Mar 85 p 8] 6578

OPPOSITION: HALT VIETNAM AID--Swedish aid to Vietnam should be reduced, especially in view of the war in Kampuchea. That was the view of the three nonsocialist parties on the parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee. The nonsocialist parties favor different degrees of cutting down on our contribution. The Conservatives want an immediate freeze on Vietnam aid while the Liberals and the Center Party want to take a more cautious approach. [Text] [Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 27 Mar 85 p 8] 6578

SHORI ATTACK ON CENTRAL AMERICA--Foreign Minister Pierre Shori criticized Wednesday in Venezuela the United States for helping the anti-government forces in Nicaragua and at the same time claiming to support the so-called Contadora peace efforts. While on a visit to Venezuela, Shori maintained that the United States must choose between the two positions. He also visited Panama and Colombia to discuss the Contadora's attempts to bring about peace talks on Central America. Shori said that after this visit he was more optimistic that the group will be able to bring about peace. [Text] [Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 7 Feb 85 p 16] 9992

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MILITARY

FINLAND

#### SHORTCOMING REVEALED IN COUNTRY'S AIR RAID SHELTERS

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 12 Mar 85 p 7

[Article by Antti Kauranne]

[Text] In the event of an international crisis or a major disaster, Greater Helsinki would be a particularly unprotected area for its inhabitants. The civil defense system suffers from serious shortcomings which are in part due to a scarcity of funds and in part to a total neglect of protective measures.

The city, which has been operating at full capacity within the limits of its resources, has been saddled with general civil defense. Private condominium associations, which do not give a rap for the urgings of civil defense officials, constitute a real bottleneck.

"Air raid shelter plans for 8,000 pieces of property were supposed to have reached the Helsinki Civil Defense Center by the end of 1984," civil defense chief Niilo Kohonen said.

"Only 6,000 plans, about not all of which do we know whether they are up to date, were turned in."

On these properties for which no plans have been made, all other civil defense measures have, in Niilo Kohonen's estimation, also been neglected.

Helsinki Still in Best Shape

"House shelters form the mainstay of Finland's civil defense," civil defense chief Kohonen sighed.

"Matters are nevertheless handled better in Helsinki than anywhere in the country...."

What then can the state of crisis readiness of the rest of Finland be if there is still so much room for improvement in the capital district?

The problems lie not only on the shoulders of private condominium owners.

### Not Enough Shelters

The Helsinki area alarm system covers only 70 percent of the area of the city. If there should be a nighttime alert, shelter space would in theory at least have to be provided for all of the city's inhabitants. How close to their homes residents would find their shelters is another matter.

If the alert should come in the daytime, there would be enough shelters for no more than about 64 percent of the people circulating and working in the municipal area. How many residents would recognize the alarm signal and how they would react is an interesting question.

There are residential districts in Helsinki that have shelters for only a few percent of the residents. Areas where homes are individually owned like Pakila, Paloheina and Tuomarinkyla would in practice have to shift completely for themselves.

### Supply Storage, Garages

Some of the city's public air raid shelters are at present being used for other purposes since the Civil Defense Center has to cover its own expenses out of the municipal budget. Shelters are leased out as parking spots, garages and for storing supplies.

"As concerns those used to store supplies, there would be problems in emptying them within the prescribed 24 hours," Kohonen admitted.

The 24-hour deadline is, however, being doubled since international crises do not arise suddenly. We will have time to increase our civil defense readiness once the signs of a crisis appear.

### Inspections in Progress

According to civil defense chief Kohonen, air raid shelter dispositions in industrial plants and commercial establishments have been taken care of in a particularly satisfactory manner. The city has, however, ordered shelter inspectors to inspect private properties to determine what shape shelters and civil defense plans are in at the present time.

Since 1975 City of Helsinki civil defense officials have bombarded condominium associations with letters containing instructions and orders about civil defense actions, which are the responsibility of the condominium associations. In a letter sent in 1981 detailed instructions were issued for the procurement of protective equipment and supplies and apartment buildings were required to draft their civil defense plans by the end of 1984.

### Penalties in the Offing

Inspectors circulating in Helsinki take note of neglect and shortcomings which condominium associations are given a short time to correct. Associations that



do not comply with their civil defense obligation are recorded and the reports are turned over to the provincial government for the imposition of punitive measures.

"Changes of personnel and an exact distribution of duties must appear in the civil defense plan for the building," Kohonen emphasized.

The inspections will last until the end of the year, after which the provincial government will take a hand in dealing with civil defense shortcomings.

#### Civil Defense Requirements

Every Building containing at least four apartments must draw up a civil defense plan. The building's civil defense obligations:

To appoint a condominium association civil defense supervisor.

To appoint an air raid shelter supervisor if the building has its own shelter.

To familiarize the above-mentioned individuals with their duties.

To draw up a civil defense plan.

To procure protective equipment and supplies.

To send the Civil Defense Board one copy of the plan.

To inform the residents.

#### Successor to Yrjonkatu Bathhouse to Go to Nuclear Center

Helsinki is planning the construction of a rather large underground bathhouse under the municipal nuclear center. The purpose of the bathhouse they plan to build under the area between Erottaja and the Johannes Church is to serve the physical exercise pursuits of residents of the southern sections of the city.

The planning of the bathhouse is on city planners' program for the near future; detailed proposals for it do not yet exist.

The construction of an underground bathhouse will cost several tens of millions of markkas. By way of comparison for the downtown bathhouse project we may take the East Center Bathhouse, which is also being built underground in a shelter cut out of the rock. The cost estimate for the East Center Bathhouse is 52 million markkas.

They plan to build the Erottaja bathhouse as a cooperative venture of the Department of Sports and Outdoor Activities and the Civil Defense Center. The Erottaja and Punanotko air raid shelters will also be enlarged in connection with the construction of the bathhouse.

Architect Rauno Ali-Kovero said that they plan to begin construction on the project in 1990.

"It's possible that the bathhouse swimming pool will be 50 meters long by 25 meters wide," Ali-Kovero said.

Access to the new underground bathhouse will be built from both the triangular park and the vicinity of the Johannes Church yard.

#### "Matter Is Urgent"

Reijo Vartia, the head of the Sports and Outdoor Activities Department, stressed the fact that the need for the Erottaja-Punanotko bathhouse is getting to be urgent.

"Residents of the southern sections of the city do not now have any bathhouse at all and the old bathhouse on Yrjonkatu does not meet the requirements of a modern bathhouse," Vartia said.

The City of Helsinki estimates that a new bathhouse would serve the leisure-time needs of about 40,000 residents of the capital. Furthermore, it would serve as a facility for those who come to work in the downtown area from elsewhere.

In addition to the Erottaja bathhouse, city planners had contemplated a new bathhouse on Munkkisaari too, but Erottaja is now considered to be a better location.

11,466

CSO: 3617/96

MILITARY

FINLAND

#### BORDER GUARD TO CONTINUE MODERNIZING FLEET

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 22 Mar 85 p 12

[Text] Border guards celebrate 60th anniversary in Kajaani.

Kajaani (HS)—The Border Patrol is to continue modernizing its ship inventory. It needs four new vessels in addition to the five that have already been ordered so that its patrol fleet does not become completely obsolete. The agency also requires more boats and men for sea rescue operations. The agency's 15 vessels are all now 30 years old.

Five vessels are at the present time being built for the Border Patrol. The smallest of these will cost over 10 million markkas and the biggest over 50 million. An outer patrol boat represents a procurement of over 30 million.

The agency is at present testing a new "Lokki" prototype coastal vessel. It will soon receive a heavier, new type patrol vessel for testing. After the 2-year test period, it will probably order the next series of ships.

"Due to the increased number of sea rescue operations, we require modern equipment if we intend to handle them effectively. For this reason too, there is getting to be an urgent need for new ships. The rate [of procurement] should be one ship every other year," Border Patrol chief, Lt Gen Ilmari Kirjavainen, said.

A great deal of information technology will also be introduced into the Border Patrol.

#### Program Gave Wrong Picture

Speaking at the Border Patrol's 60th anniversary celebration in Kajaani, Kirjavainen also took up the subject of the program presented on Finnish television in early March.

"One readily got a picture of border guards doing their jobs without a sense of responsibility from the program with its offensive impressions of the border guards. The program did not depict the real situation," Kirjavainen reminded us.

He stressed the fact that the Border Patrol did not participate in the filming of the program in any way.

#### Own Museum in Imatra

For employment reasons, the Border Patrol has built and performed basic repairs on its own buildings in Lapland, Kainuu and Pohjois-Karjala. The northern barracks and border stations are now in good shape.

"The Border Patrol buildings in Imatra in Southeast Finland are in need of repair. They are nearly 50 years old and basic repairs have never been done on them. At the same time we are trying to get our own museum built there, which can be used to advantage in Border Academy instruction," Lieutenant General Kirjavainen told us.

The new training building with its physical training facilities, soldiers' homes and main guard went into operation on Thursday in Imatra. Next they are going to build a new repair shop there. According to Kirjavainen, the Gulf of Finland, Aland Sea and Pohjanmaa Coast Guard installations are in need of repair. The coast guardsmen also need new docks at Hanko, for example.

The Border Patrol selected First Lt Pauli Kalevi Kontunen of the Southeast Finland Border Patrol in Imatra as border patrolman of the year. Onkamo near Kemijarvi was named Border Patrol station of the year and the Susiluoto station in the Rauma Coast Guard district the Coast Guard station of the year.

11,466  
CSO: 3617/96

MILITARY

PORTUGAL

# LIMITS SET ON MILITARY COOPERATION WITH MOZAMBIQUE

## No Cahora Bassa Defense

Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 3 Apr 85 p 28

[Excerpts] Minister of Foreign Affairs Jaime Gama stated last night in a televised interview that Portuguese troops would not be sent to Mozambique in order to protect the Cahora Bassa electric plant.

He thus provided an indirect answer to the suggestions that have been made by Mozambican authorities, who argue that Portugal has a fundamental interest in the utilization of Cahora Bassa.

"This is not proper and it won't be done. The security situation in certain countries must be faced by those nations themselves," Jaime Gama affirmed.

As for the accusation coming from certain quarters, that Portugal maintains a situation of dependence vis-a-vis the United States, Jaime Gama said that a situation of subservience does not exist, and added that when all countries are attempting to maintain privileged relations with Washington, "it would be purposeless for us not to do it." He also noted that, among European countries, "we are not the ones who have consistently voted with the United States in the UN."

## No Military to Mozambique

Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 7 Apr 85 p 4

[Excerpt] Military cooperation with Mozambique will never involve sending Portuguese military instructors to that country, a Portuguese diplomatic source stated to NP [PORTUGUESE NEWS].

The same source added that Portugal may provide training to Mozambican military personnel within the framework of the agreement signed between the two countries, but always on Portuguese territory, as has been the case with other Lusophone countries. There can be other areas of military cooperation between Portugal and Mozambique, such as uniforms from Portugal or support from Portuguese military laboratories.



Another area in which military cooperation could become involved is the construction of new military installations or the rehabilitation of others built during the colonial era, with the assistance of missions formed by military engineers. The Manhica training center, about 70 km from Maputo, is supposed to receive a Portuguese military mission, and a construction firm is in the process of being selected.

The Mozambican Government would like to have a Portuguese firm, but financing problems are creating some difficulties. It should be noted that three Portuguese enterprises have presented proposals so far.

CSO: 3542/159

MILITARY

SWEDEN

COUNTRY HAS ROLE IN GUARDING ORESUND IN WAR INVOLVING DENMARK

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 27 Mar 85 p 2

[Commentary by Olof Santesson]

[Text] Intruders in our air space usually identify themselves without much delay and are turned away.

We have learned that we can count on Sweden's incident readiness to function effectively here.

But if a foreign military plane first shows up over Swedish territory out in the Oresund, the Swedish armed forces must first get in touch with air force headquarters in Kastrup.

For Sweden has lent out some of its air space for air safety and technical reasons. Therefore the Danes must quickly "clear" the area before a Swedish military intervention can be carried out.



Key:

- 1. Copenhagen
- 2. Sweden

- 3. Denmark

This is an example of how much regulation has been necessary over the years in the narrow waters that involve both a channel between two parts of the open sea and the ocean territories of two sovereign nations.

It is well-known that the Oresund plays a central role in all Swedish security policy planning.

Geography and history have placed Sweden in a strategic position in both war-time and peacetime.

But few of us have a really clear idea of how Sweden, as one of the Oresund's guardians--the other, of course, is Denmark--is trying to handle a delicate and unrelenting task.

One who knows is the Foreign Ministry's expert on international law, Bo Johnson Theutenberg.

In between assignments in various parts of the inhabited world and lately in the Antarctic as well, he has constantly stressed the importance of having some idea of how Sweden tries to apply and utilize international law.

This happened most recently when he spoke a few days ago to the Public Armed Forces Society in Malmo on the topic of "The Oresund in Light of International Law."

The current arrangement is that passage through the Oresund--and the Great Belt--in and out of the Baltic Sea is quite unrestricted.

What is referred to as harmless passage is allowed through these channels.

This means among other things that ships passing through must behave in such a way that they do not "disturb the peace, order and security of the coastal states." Submarines must always proceed on the surface while flying their national flags.

It is true that the new Ocean Rights Convention, which was signed in 1982, has introduced a new concept, "transit passage," which for example allows a foreign submarine to pass through an ocean area in a submerged position when, of course, it cannot display its national flag.

But by referring to established tradition Sweden was able to have the Oresund exempted as a "historic channel" from this rule which was a poorer one from the point of view of Swedish security. A good example of the practical political value of a knowledge of custom and valid documents!

Real problems involving the Oresund would first arise, of course, in the event of a future armed conflict between the power blocs.

How Sweden would behave then is described in the so-called access regulations and the IKFN regulations (the regulations on military intervention in the

event of violations of Swedish territory under conditions of peace and neutrality, etcetera).

How many people have any idea that a neutral Sweden would be obliged to protect foreign military vessels belonging to a nation at war when they pass through the Oresund on open Swedish waters?

In one respect the Oresund is also special. Only here can submarines and hovercraft from belligerent nations have access to Swedish territory while in transit; Swedish neutrality does not permit these types of craft to make any other visits to Swedish territory!

This does not mean that there are no restrictions whatever, of course.

Under the access regulations only three military ships belonging to a belligerent nation or to "allied belligerent nations" are allowed to be in Swedish territorial waters at a one time.

But it is hard to see what role all these rules and restrictions would really play in an actual war situation.

In his remarks Bo Johnson Theutenberg also pointed out that the other guardian of the Oresund, Denmark, as a member of a defense alliance, cannot avoid combining its fundamental ideas of free access with preparations for militarily secure land and sea connections between Jutland and the islands.

During the world war the outlets of the Baltic Sea were mined.

A blockade of the Belts and the Danish part of the Oresund could be expected in the event of a new armed conflict.

In such a case all foreign passage would have to occur through Swedish waters. One can easily envision the kind of sensitive situations that could arise.

But there are only theories in existence about a war situation, whether it involves the Oresund or not. Rapid and extremely violent events could mean that passage rights would never come up.

However there is no doubt about the obligations of neutral Sweden.

They are based on important rules of law and--where the Oresund is concerned--on centuries of political experiences.

We cannot run away from our role. We must simply make the best of it.

6578

CSO: 3650/214

MILITARY

SWEDEN

## EXERCISE TESTS WINTER SURVIVAL CAPABILITY OF TROOPS

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 7 Feb 85 p 7

[Article by Caj Noren: "In The Wilds Without Food"]

[Text] Vuollerim, Wednesday--Eight soldiers have survived freezing temperatures of minus 30 to 35 degrees for 9 days in the wilds without food.

They took part in the most extreme survival experiment ever conducted in arctic climate.

Today, Thursday, the exercise in Jokkmokk was concluded.

When Stefan Kallman, director of the experiment, escorted DAGENS NYHETER's correspondent out to the group in a snowmobile, they pitched camp above a frozen lake in the Serri Nature Preserve.

Two soldiers, Joachim Thostemar and Jan Franzen, are just now checking the nets--they were empty. It is a magnificent day and the sun is shining, even though it gives no warmth at all in the minus 24 degree weather. But for the survival squad, this is no less than a thaw since the temperature has until now been below minus 30 degrees.

### Good Spirits

Joachim is a policeman in Koping. Jan studies at the university in Uppsala. They and their six comrades appeared to be in surprisingly good spirits in spite of the cold. But both admit that their thoughts are constantly on food. Joachim thinks day and night about chocolate with thick cream and toasted French bread with thick slices of cheese. Jan dreams of spaghetti carbonada.

"Our stomachs rumble and growl, but we know each other so well, are so used to staying outside in the woods that there are never any disputes," they say.

The 9-day exercise is part of defense department research on the possibilities of surviving various outdoor environments without food. The scenario is this: the eight soldiers have completed their extended reconnaissance mission and are now returning through an earlier combat zone. During the retreat they are to conduct some guerrilla operations.



Naturally, the basic object of the experiment is their survival ability. Ideally, they will come back in such good condition that they can soon be sent on another combat mission.

The problem for the soldiers in this situation is that the frozen forest provides so little food. The exercise presupposes that larger game such as elk and reindeer were quickly shot or frightened away. But there still are some upland birds such as grouse to serve as food.

#### Viscous Soup

The soldiers have to have something to eat, however, and so they boil tea from pine needles and cook a black viscous soup of bearded lichen. The pine needles are a good vitamin C supplement and furnish some sugar and minerals. Lichen soup keeps the stomach and intestinal track in shape so one can eat food immediately on returning to his unit.

Stefan Kallman, the director of the experiment and a physiologist, is also testing whether the intestinal bacteria can break down the carbohydrates found in the bearded lichen.

#### Three Fish

All eight persons in the survival experiment eat this food at least three times a day. Four people are permitted to hunt and fish as well. They have devised traps for hunting but have not caught anything yet. They have caught three fish, though--a trout weighing 1 kilogram and two perch. But in order to catch these fish they had to use the 2 kilograms of dynamite they had along to blast two holes in the meter-thick ice.

The survival group is under the command of Lars Felt of the paratrooper school at Karlsborg. He is probably Sweden's foremost expert on survival techniques. Six of the soldiers are paratroopers training to be reserve officers; one soldier, Hans Alm, is a commando.

All of them took part in this voluntarily. They were selected from among 100 applicants. Exercises of this kind are especially appealing to the elite soldiers...

#### Previous Experience

Lars Falt and Hans Alm were also at the week-long survival march in September 1983 in northern Roslagen. They both claim that it was considerably easier.

"The biggest problem is protecting yourself from the cold. This requires lots of energy," says Falt.

The soldiers spent the night in hutlike tents made of rain-proof material held up with a pole. During DAGENS NYHETER's visit, however, a protective shelter was set up in back of a shed.

On Thursday they get their first food in 9 days at Jokkmokk. Then they get to go to Boden and after a short leave will go out again on a 3-week exercise-- with food, naturally.

They did not test any equipment per se, but they did find out what most soldiers already knew: the army-issue gloves are not enough out in the cold. So they have their own civilian gloves inside the leather gloves.

Survival researcher Stefan Kallman was the group's lifeline during the 9 days. He stayed by a field telephone around the clock. The survival group had a telephone along for safety reasons.

Kallman also visited the survival group 6 times. He took urine and blood samples, checked pulses and any signs of frost bite in the toes, feet, cheeks and teeth.

"We are aware of the risks and think that we have everything under control. If anyone collapsed, we would take him out of the exercise. No one is forcing anyone to complete the experiment at the risk of injury," says Kallman.

He also believes that this exercise is a demonstration of the pressing importance to Swedish defense of a survival training program for all soldiers.

#### Impressed

Kallman is very impressed with the soldiers: "The fellows have done a great job."

It was mostly the cold that made the mission so difficult:

"The experiment shows that one shouldn't be out longer than 10 days without food when it is this cold. They would be able to go 2 weeks all right, but then they would be very run down."

Kallman believes that these soldiers would have to be outdoors for a month in minus 5 degrees to be as exhausted as they are now after 9 days in minus 30 to 35 degree weather. That is how much energy the cold "draws" out of the body...

#### Investigation of Frost-bitten Soldiers

"The command regards the frost-bite injuries as a serious matter. The causes will be investigated in order to avoid a recurrence."

These are the words of acting regiment chief Mats Jonsson of the K 4 peace-keeping unit at Arvidsjaur spoken in a commentary on the frost-bite injuries suffered by several soldiers during an exercise concluded last week.

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MILITARY

SWEDEN

# AIR FORCE TRAINING OFFICER ON MEASURES TO RETAIN PILOTS

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 20 Mar 85 p 3

[Article by Lieutenant Colonel Folke Sandahl]

[Text] Folke P. Sandahl is a lieutenant colonel and works in the air force staff's training section.

On 14 March the defense minister revealed the steps that would be taken to reduce the attrition rate of pilots who leave the air force to work for civilian airlines. The steps are interesting for several reasons. First and foremost the fact that they were taken at all shows the importance the government now assigns to the role of the air force in the continuation of Sweden's successful security policy.

This appears to be a change in the trend. It is true that throughout the postwar period the air force has been consistently supplied with high-class materiel. But the quantity has declined so drastically and so quickly--this branch of defense has been cut in half in just 20 years--that one might infer a downgrading of the importance of the air force in national defense. One can only speculate on the reasons for this changing trend, if that is what it is; perhaps it stems from a pragmatic defense minister in combination with a growing concern about straying U-137 submarines in the capital.

## Irresistible Temptation

But the government's measures also reflect its view of what the main reasons for the defection of pilots are. In several strong statements about the importance of the air force the defense minister seems to have shown an awareness that people are unwilling to work at things that responsible leaders treat as unimportant or harmful.

The economic part of the measures--including a bonus for pilots who stay in the air force--shows that the government suspects that the higher pay in alternative jobs as pilots represents an irresistible temptation. It is hardly possible to eliminate this possible reason for attrition considering the way the Swedish labor market's wage-scale system with all its emotional arguments functions. The monthly bonus after taxes is also fairly modest and unexciting.

The fact that the government is trying to influence civilian airlines to recruit pilots in other ways less detrimental to society (such as from the commercial aviation college) rather than get them from the air force may be regarded as an emergency measure in a situation where there is an extreme imbalance between civilian needs and the military delivery rate.

#### More than Money Needed

But the most interesting thing about the measures is that they do not seem to be based on the most objective and penetrating analysis possible of the real reasons for the defections. If the reasons differ entirely or in part from those that have been assumed, the measures are unlikely to have any lasting positive effect.

It is certainly true that in many cases one can keep people in a job by depriving them of the alternative escape routes that their training would otherwise qualify them for. But if a job is to be done well other ingredients besides the physical presence of the worker are required. One of the things that is needed is good will. Money cannot buy much of that.

We may assume that in the time framework that has now been set up the defense minister, the supreme commander and the head of the air force will provide the resources needed to clarify this part of the problem.

#### Meager Appropriations

What really lies behind the pilot defections? Is this primarily a flight to SAS and higher wages or could it possibly be a flight from the air force instead? The chairman of the air force pilots' interest association has suggested on radio and TV that the wage issue is not very important. But what is the problem?

Could it be that the meager appropriations for the air force have given the pilots inadequate training time for a reasonable level of flight safety? It could be a sign of this that pilots gave flight safety as a reason for staying on the ground when tempers flared recently. Crashes due to inadequate flying trim (the "human factor") are no longer accepted.

Another reason can be found in the work climate. The air force is not the only place that is experiencing a clash between the views of an older leadership, with so-called authoritarian personalities in important posts, and the ideas of a younger generation, acquired in part from the educational system, about the conditions needed for a good work climate.

The most effective, quickest and cheapest measure for all sides would be for the head of the air force to reassign all leaders who are not receptive to the training in leadership that is required for military activities in peacetime as well as wartime. There must be posts where they do not have to have so much contact with people and where their expertise will be more appreciated.

### Frequent Turnover

An organizational factor of interest is that between the division chief (the chief closest to the pilots and the group chiefs) and the wing commander there is a level, flight chief, that is usually occupied by a "career" officer. This means that there can be a frequent turnover of the division chief's superior officer.

Perhaps it is not pure coincidence that it is the division chiefs and their deputies who most often leave the air force. At any rate it is not a good arrangement that the officer who is supposed to take care of and even out the conflicts between the beliefs of higher officers and their subordinates' awareness of the harsh realities is a transitory figure.

There is enough scientific evidence for this kind of danger that it is not necessary to describe it in more detail here.

### Scant Assurance

From the point of view of the armed forces and the individual taxpayer it is imperative that the dangerous situation that has arisen be dealt with adequately. The fact that the government's measures may now disguise the problem for a while offers scant assurance for the future.

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MILITARY

SWEDEN

# AIR FORCE HOPES EXPANDED CIVIL PILOT TRAINING TO END 'DRAIN'

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 28 Mar 85 p 6

[Article by Bengt Falkkloo]

[Text] As early as next year the number of people trained at the Airline Pilots' Technical College (TFHS) in Ljungbyhed will double. There will be room for 60 students which will fulfill the wishes of SAS which has an urgent need for pilots. Next summer the airline will need 200 new pilots and after that it will need at least 100 a year up to 1991.

This fall the first 14 students from TFHS will take their final exams. All of them are sure to get jobs with SAS or Linjeflyg.

This week the second group of 24 students began their training. But this will not be enough now that the air force has stopped the airlines from recruiting military pilots.

On Wednesday Bengt Hagglund, chief of the operative division at SAS, met with Barbro Fischerstrom of the Communications Ministry.

## Expansion Planned

"We want to expand the school to take 60 students," she said. "And if we get the finances and the practical problems straightened out there will be no difficulty.

"Not all 60 students will be added at the same time; 30 will come in at the beginning of January and another 30 in the summer of 1986."

Educational equipment in the form of simulators, airplanes and so forth is available. The need is for instructors. Today two instructors, one from SAS and one from LIN [Linjeflyg] work there along with the military teachers.

## Part-Time Teachers

"We can arrange for more instructors," said Bengt Hagglund. "Not on a full-time basis and stationed in Ljungbyhed, but we can come up with 10 instructor

pilots. They would be flight pilots who fly for SAS part of the time and teach the rest of the time."

An educational slot at TFHS costs around 1-1.4 million kronor. It costs 10 million kronor to fully train a military pilot.

In addition to the air force and TFHS there are private flight schools in Sweden that train pilots to become certificated to fly passenger planes.

But they do not get jobs with SAS or Linjeflyg. They come under the supervision of the Aviation Board and follow the same training plans as other pilots.

#### High Requirements

"But they do not meet the requirements," said Barbro Fischerstrom. "SAS and LIN have such high requirements for their pilots."

"Not all military pilots meet our requirements either," said Bengt Hagglund. "We take 8 out of every 10 we test. It is not enough just to be a good Viggen pilot with many flying hours, perhaps several thousand, to get a job with us. Those who graduate from TFHS have around 350 hours."

SAS takes part in the selection of students. One out of 20 passes the test.

"But the training is so good that they meet our requirements for being hired later on and receiving our further training to meet the specific needs of the airline," said Bengt Hagglund.

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MILITARY

SWEDEN

DEFENSE MINISTER, AIR FORCE OFFICER, PAPER ON PILOT DRAIN

Officer Sees Contracts as Solution

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 15 Mar 85 p 5

[Op Ed Article by Lt Col Bo Hellstrom, Air Staff Personnel Administration Division: "Contracts--Not Bans! Severe Criticism of the Defense Minister's Actions Against Air Force Pilots"]

[Text] If the government wants to retain the air force pilots, the solution must lie in contracts, not be afterwards preventing them from choosing a better paid and less risky job. It is a poor consolation for those affected that even the minister of defense is going to choose a less exposed and better paid job far from the Swedish duck pond, writes Lt Col Bo Hellstrom.

Fourteen military pilots went over to commercial flying during 1983-84. Since the Defense Department started to work on the problem last fall, another 29 pilots have joined the airlines, among them several squadron leaders and deputy squadron leaders.

The three largest Swedish airlines, SAS, LIN and Swedair alone have a total need of at least another 100 or so pilots before the end of next year. Several European and U.S. companies also see the need for the same kind of large expansion.

After discussing with the air force commander what the consequences would be if this recruiting were to be made from the air force pilot staff, the minister of defense is of the opinion that the air force cannot let any more pilots go without jeopardizing its ability to fulfill its tasks now and in the future.

The minister of defense does not think that the government ought to compete with the airlines as far as wages are concerned, partly because he is afraid that other government employees will then demand large wage increases.

Therefore, he has made it clear to the airlines that the government does

not intend to allow recruiting of any more air force pilots during the next 2 years. If other qualified pilots cannot be found, the (Swedish) companies must abandon their expansion plans. If they do not comply with the imposed limitations, the government is prepared to take traffic-political measures, i.e. withdrawal of concessions for certain routes, in order to reduce the need for pilots.

The air force pilots fully understand that the minister of defense has to guard the ability of the air force to support the defense policy of the country. Politically, there is agreement that the current strength of the air force must be maintained. It will take a long time to compensate for the losses that have occurred already. Continued losses will quickly negate the chances of raising the squadrons required in wartime, as well as leading them or training them in peacetime.

The government has deliberately chosen not to restrict the air force pilots with any kind of contract before their training begins. Furthermore, the advice is still given in the pamphlets on career choices that are given to the nation's youth that the way to become an airline pilot is by joining the air force.

Many who have followed this advice now consider themselves cheated. Even those who have planned to stay in the air force all along, think that the rules of the game should have been made clear from the beginning. If the government wants to make sure of retaining the air force pilots, it must be done through contracts and not by preventing them afterwards from choosing an employer who pays better and who offers a flying job that lacks the high risks connected with a career as a fighter pilot.

An action aimed at preventing the airline from recruiting pilots who are both qualified and willing to become airline pilots, must be viewed as an action aimed at limiting the pilots' prospects of increasing their income with less risk and limiting their possibility of continuing their flying career until retirement age. Will the government resort to this kind of solution when it comes to other civil servants who are subject to offers from the competition?

Signing a contract today with those pilots who are already trained would probably mean that, in return, the government would have to better the employment conditions to a larger degree than by the war assignment bonus that it now means to introduce. The fact that the minister of defense has not chosen this road, makes it obvious that such employment benefits, in his opinion, are unrealistic for fighter pilots.

In order for the air force to benefit from those who have resigned prematurely, the minister of defense has recently introduced a change in the reserve officer bulletin. New airline pilots can keep their war assignment as fighter pilots for 2 to 3 years after their resignation by taking regular refresher courses as reserve officers.

In order to bring this about, the minister of defense must compete directly with the marketplace for these pilots. Therefore, they are enticed not only with the same monthly pay and flight supplement as the active pilots in the air force, but also with a bonus that gives them another 5,000 kronor per month during their tour of duty. Thereby, the reserve officers receive higher pay for their tour of duty in the air force than they receive from SAS after many years of service.

Thereby, the minister of defense has created two categories of fighter pilots: professionals who are not paid market wages and semiprofessionals who are.

It is a positive sign that the government now strongly emphasizes our defense, and that our security policy takes precedence over considerations for the expansion plans of the airlines.

However, letting many years of neglect as far as solving the question of how to train airline pilots be vented on the pilots remaining in the air force does not create an environment beneficial to the difficult task of the air force to scrape together efficient war squadrons with the help of the remaining personnel.

Only when fighter pilots voluntarily remain in the air force can the air force give full value to the taxpayers for capital spent.

Last year the government started an educational course for airline pilots at the Fighter Pilot school in Ljungbyhed. Some 18.4 million kronor were taken from defense allocations for this purpose. The costs for 1985-86 are estimated to be 26 million kronor. These costs ought to be compared with the estimated 8 million per year for the "war assignment bonus," suggested by the minister of defense, when it is put into effect. Let the airlines finance their own pilot training, so that the defense allocation can be used for, among other things, retaining already trained fighter pilots for defense.

Promises that negotiations will be entered into "after the supreme commander of the armed forces has analyzed the problem" are a joke to those who know that as early as 1979, the air force commander requested that the government take steps to solve the problem of premature resignations. Today's solution cannot be such a half measure that it only creates new problems. It must involve giving the air force some measure of peace and quiet in order to repair the heavy drain of the past years. It must satisfy the need for fighter pilots and not only for men of 25-30 years of age, but for leaders of wings and staffs.

The air force pilots know this and, therefore, view with trepidation the actions of the minister of defense. (This is not said in defense of the unfortunate action last week).

It is a poor consolation for those affected that they know that even the minister of defense, as soon as possible, intends to take a less exposed and better paid job far away from the Swedish duck pond. They can understand why, however.



### Paper Backs Contract Proposal

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 15 Mar 85 p 2

[Editorial: "To Train a Pilot"]

[Text] It costs 10 million kronor to train a pilot in the air force, and a bonus of 327,000 kronor may be considered a fairly low price for retaining this capital for the defense. SAS, Linjeflyg and Swedair want to recruit some 100 pilots in Sweden in 1985 and 1986. Such a drain--a billion in training costs --threatens preparedness "to such a degree that the world's confidence in our military ability to preserve neutrality in the event of war, is seriously shaken," asserts Defense Minister Anders Thunborg. He suggests a bonus of 15 base units to those who reenlist as fighter pilots until the age of 38, in addition to the wage increases given both this and last year. He threatens the airlines with imperative traffic-political measures if they do not cut down on their recruiting of military pilots.

Perhaps soccer and ice hockey teams can help the minister of defense with a tip or two. Totally free transfers on market terms puts the Defense Department in the impossible position of first having to pay for superexpensive training and then to pay interest and depreciation on the training capital in the form of a supersalary, i.e. the same cost twice. Some form of long-term contract, a commitment on the part of the pilot not to transfer to civilian flying duties for a certain length of time, would not be unreasonable.

### Minister Decides on Bonuses

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 15 Mar 85 p 12

[Article by Bengt Falkkloo: "How the Air Force Wants to End Defections: Pilot Receives a Quarter Million"]

[Text] It is more important that the Swedish Viggen gets up in the air than that SAS can fly charter tourists to the south. This is said by Defense Minister Anders Thunborg, who gives a discrete hint to the airlines to stop trying to recruit air force fighter pilots.

After many and long discussions and reports, the Defense Ministry last Thursday presented some proposals on how to have the pilots remain in the air force.

The largest incentive is economic.

If a pilot remains until he is 38 years old, he can collect a "war assignment bonus" of at the most 15 base units. In today's situation that would mean 327,000 kronor.

"It has not been decided as yet how he will get his bonus," says the minister of defense. "Maybe he wants it all at once or a certain sum every year. But the condition for receiving any money is that he remain as a career officer, be war assigned and fly fighter planes."

The three commercial airlines, SAS, Linjeflyg and Swedair, are saying that they will need 100 new pilots during the next 2 years.

The Swedish Air Force says that at the most it can let 10-15 go.

The Defense Ministry says that matter has been investigated, and it considers that 25 pilots may be allowed to make the transfer.

"However, if we are to let 25 pilots go, we have to introduce something called shared use. It means that the pilot goes to work for SAS, for instance, but he remains as an air force reserve officer for 3 years. During that time he divides his service between the airline and the air force.

"It sounds good, but it is not a magic formula for solving this problem completely," says General Sven-Olof Olson, commander of the air force. "Two pilots per division, at the most, can work in this manner."

"In reality, we cannot let a single one of our 400 pilots go today. But the department has produced the number 25 for the next couple of years and we have to accept it."

One of the reasons so many pilots want to leave for the commercial airlines is the chance of flying. They are not allowed to fly as long as they want to in the air force.

"But today we can guarantee that every pilot can continue flying," says General Sven-Olof Olson. "There is more troop transport flying and sea and air rescue operations increase and that means qualified helicopter flying."

If they continue to try to recruit pilots, the airlines can be penalized.

"What I mainly have in mind are traffic-political measures, which will decrease the airlines' needs for pilots."

That is the statement; and it means that:

"Keeping the Viggen flying is more important than running charter flights to Mallorca," says the minister of defense.

The joint negotiating committee of the civil servants, TCO-S, reacts strongly against the decision of the government concerning the air force pilots. TCO-S considers that a unilateral decision on the part of an employer makes it difficult for the union to defend the current collective agreement.

"The decision means that the wage relations between the pilots within the three defense branches, as well as between various categories of officers are upset in a manner unacceptable to us. We have already been hard pressed by our other member groups because of measures like these," says representative Lars Backlin, TCO-S.

Even the SACO-SR organization, the Swedish Officers' Association, is reacting to the fact that it has not been allowed to participate in the negotiations and it says that "the career ban is now a fact."

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MILITARY

SWEDEN

# MATERIEL COMMAND ISSUES POSITIVE REPORT ON JAS COSTS

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 18 Mar 85 p 6

[Article by Ola Sall]

[Text] The cost of each new type of Swedish military plane has doubled since the first one, the "Flying Barrel," was produced in 1951. In terms of today's currency, they cost 8.6 million kronor. Then came the Lansen at 18.8 million, the Draken at 34.6 million, and the Viggen at 70 million kronor. According to the Defense Materiel Command (FMV) and Saab Scania, the new JAS will break this cost trend and be less expensive than the Viggen. Exact calculations are impossible, however, since the JAS will be purchased with dollars and no one knows what the future exchange rate of the dollar will be.

The cost of military planes manufactured by Sweden has doubled for each new type of plane since the first Flying Barrel rolled off the assembly line in the early fifties. Now this trend will be reversed, however, when the new JAS is produced, according to calculations by the Defense Materiel Command and Saab Scania.

But this estimate is based on the assumption that there will be a political decision to build the JAS-Gripen far into the next century.

The cost ceiling for the JAS is now at 38 billion kronor. By the year 2000, when 140 JAS planes are to be in the air, the project will have cost 32 billion kronor. If only these 140 planes are considered, the cost per plane will be 220 million kronor, including their advanced electronic equipment. This is only a hypothetical figure, however, since no one now knows what the exchange rate of the dollar will be or how many planes will be built. Payments in dollars for the JAS project will begin in several years. About one fourth of the JAS costs will be paid in dollars.

## Cheaper Than Viggen

The FMV figures are based on the assumption that as many JAS planes will be built after the year 2000 as before that year. If that is the case, the cost

of each individual JAS plane will be less than the cost of a Viggen, at a fixed money value, according to the FMV estimates.

The cost of Swedish military planes has doubled with each new type of plane since the first Swedish combat aircraft was constructed in 1951.

Airplane 29, the "Flying Barrel," had development costs of about 60 million kronor. Divided over the 660 Flying Barrels that were produced, the cost was about 90,000 kronor per plane for the development work alone, in terms of the money value of that time.

In addition, fuselage and engine costs averaged 700,000 kronor per plane.

#### 450 Lansen Planes

The Barrel was followed by Airplane 32, the "Lansen," 450 of which were constructed between 1955 and 1960. Development costs were more than three times as high, just over 200 million kronor, which meant almost 500,000 kronor per plane. Production costs over this 5-year period were more than double those of the Barrel--about 1.6 million for one Lansen.

#### Draken In Six Versions

The next plane was Airplane 35, the "Draken." Between 1959 and 1972, 540 of these planes were produced in six different versions, with more and more sophisticated electronic equipment. Development costs per manufactured plane were now more than twice as high as for the Lansen--1.3 million kronor. The cost figures for the various planes are at current prices, i.e. they indicate how much the planes cost at the time they were produced.

#### Higher Than Allocations

The cost increases for the various types of planes have always been higher than the increases in military spending. As a result, expenditures for airplanes have accounted for a larger and larger share of these allocations.

Converted to today's money value, the figures indicate that the cost per plane of each new type has doubled. In these terms, the Flying Barrel cost 8.6 million kronor per plane, the Lansen cost 18.8 million, the Draken 34.6 million, and the Viggen 70 million kronor each, calculated for the day the planes were delivered to the air force.

#### More Expensive Electronics

These figures do not include operating and maintenance costs during the lifetime of the planes or weapons systems for them. They do include the cost of their electronic equipment. The most modern planes are loaded with advanced electronic equipment, which is responsible for a larger and larger share of the increased cost.



MILITARY

SWEDEN

BRIEFS

EXCESSIVE OVERTIME IN NAVY--Naval officers are dissatisfied. They have too much overtime and have too few occasions to take compensatory time off. The Naval Officers' Associations will shortly deliver this criticism to the commander of the Coastal Fleet. "We have members who have over 500 hours of overtime and who have been forced to receive compensation in the form of money," says Captain Anders Lavestall, president of the Naval Officers' Association in Karlskrona. Reduction in personnel and a new type of training are the main reasons for the dissatisfaction among the naval officers. During the last decade, about 2,000 naval positions have disappeared and a further 50 civilian employees have lately been given notice in Karlskrona. At the same time, all training of draftees is now done at sea. Previously, all vocational training was done on land and only the strictly naval training was done on the ships. [Text] [Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 7 Feb 85 p 6] 12339

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ECONOMIC

CYPRUS

BRIEFS

AGREEMENT WITH BULGARIA--The work of the Fifth Session of the Permanent Cypriot-Bulgarian Government Committee on Economic and Scientific and Technological Cooperation concluded yesterday with the signing of a protocol. The latter aims at increasing the existing friendly ties between the two countries and also in increasing to a greater extent existing cooperation in such fields as trade, industry, investments, transportation, tourism, etc. /Excerpt/ /Nicosia  
O FILELEVETHEROS in Greek 21 Mar 85 p 1/

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ECONOMIC

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

PRC INSTITUTE ASSESSES FRG ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE, TECHNOLOGY

Beijing SHIJIE JINGJI [WORLD ECONOMY] in Chinese No 11, 10 Nov 84 pp 22-26

[Article by Zhu Minxin [2612 2404 0207]: "An Analysis of the Economic Rise and Decline of the Federal Republic of Germany"]

[Excerpt] After going through rapid development in the 1950's and the 1960's, the economy of the FRG created what people called an "economic miracle." However, since entering the 1970's the FRG economy, which came to be known as the "locomotive" of Western Europe, has not only lost the momentum of development but its problems and difficulties have gradually increased.

II

Between 1966 and 1967, the FRG encountered the first full-scale postwar crisis of overproduction. Its economic development slowed down, and for the first time after the war there appeared an absolute drop (though a relatively small one) in GNP and industrial production. Still, the annual average growth rate of industrial production in the 1960's as a whole was 5.7 percent, which was undoubtedly much lower than the average growth rate of 9.5 percent in the 1950's. The second full-scale postwar crisis of overproduction took place in the early 1970's as a result of the interplay of internal and external factors. But the annual average economic growth rate during the 4 post-crisis years from 1976 to 1979 still attained 3.9 percent. However, this rate had declined further in comparison with the 1960's. The third full-scale crisis of overproduction which began in the second quarter of 1980 affected production more seriously. The GNP in 1980 merely rose by 1.8 percent; its drop was considerable compared with the 4.4 percent growth rate of 1979. The GNP growth rate in 1981 decreased by 0.2 percent and in 1982 by another 1.1 percent. Starting from 1983, the economy improved slowly, but in that year it grew by only 1.3 percent. Due to its lack of vitality, economic development in the 1980's as a whole will still be slow-paced. According to economic forecasting, the annual average growth rate of GNP in the FRG will only be about 2.4 percent between 1982 and 1990.

There are many reasons for the change of pace from rapid to slow economic development, but the major ones are:

A. Intensification of the inherent contradiction between indiscriminate expanded production and the relative narrowing of the FRG domestic and foreign markets, and gradual replacement of former advantageous conditions by disadvantageous conditions. As a result of a slump in the international market, trade and currency warfare between Western Europe and the United States has become even more intensive. In order to control inflation, the United States has pursued a policy of tightening currency and raising interest rates which has greatly harmed the interests of Western European countries, including the FRG. On one hand, this high interest rate policy has caused the outflow of large quantities of the Deutschmark from the FRG (according to estimates, the rise of 1 percentage point of interest rate in the United States would draw an outflow of DM 8 billion from the FRG). On the other hand, it has forced corresponding increases in bank interest rates in the FRG thereby diminishing the enthusiasm of enterprises for investment borrowing.

Ninety-five percent of the petroleum in the FRG is imported. Petroleum and petroleum products imported in 1979 alone amounted to 140 million tons, and because of the price increase in petroleum, in that year DM 15 billion more was paid than in the previous year. This was an important reason for the first deficit to have appeared in the current account of the 1980 international balance of payments since 1965.

B. Improper economic and financial policies were the internal cause for the decline of the FRG economy and are evident in the following:

1. Excessive state intervention, which means over-taxation, over-spending and too many administrative restrictions. For a long time, the FRG government has been extracting increasingly large portions from its GNP in the form of taxation and social insurance expenses in order to provide funds for reallocation and use by the government. This portion of GNP increased from 34.3 percent in 1969 to 38.2 percent in 1981. Thirty-four percent of every Deutschmark earned was handed over to the state, 24 percent went to social insurance agencies, 2 percent drifted to church treasuries and only 40 percent belonged to the individual.

Because social welfare expenses and state administrative and personnel expenses constantly increase, and in addition the government annually pays large sums of money to stimulate the deteriorating economy, the government not only spends all its revenue but also has to raise loans every year. The gross national debt increased from DM 125.9 billion in 1970 to DM 600 billion in 1982. Interest on the huge amount of national debt has enormously restricted the chances for the revival of state finances. The huge government financial deficit and interest and principal payment for the national debt have become major reasons for the rising interest rate.

In addition, the government has restricted business and individual economic activities. According to estimates, the sum total of investments that have been impeded by excessive government intervention amounted to DM 40 billion to

DM 50 billion. If the interest rate is eased, enthusiasm for investment will correspondingly increase.

2. There is an imbalanced ratio between profits and wages. One of the main factors for the rapid economic development in the FRG in the 1950's and the first half of the 1960's was the high degree of exploitation of employees by employers and the more rapid increase in profits than wages. From the second half of the 1960's to the early 1980's, the rate of wage increase accelerated, affecting business profits and investments. Many experts in the FRG believe that insufficient investment is a major reason for the FRG's economic predicament. Private business investments in the FRG generally account for four-fifths of the national total. One of the reasons for the insufficient investment in private enterprises was that personnel and administrative costs increased too quickly while business profits steadily fell. The average proportion of net profit from sales in the processing industry, construction industry and commercial sector fell from 3.8 percent in 1965 to 2.1 percent in 1980. Because of the reduced profit rate, national economic investment has not shown any vitality since 1974. In 1982 the actual investment for the most part remained at the level of 10 years ago or 1973.

3. Social welfare costs have increased too rapidly. Increases in expenditure on social welfare have a considerable effect on raising living standards and safeguarding social stability. But today, it has gradually turned into a heavy burden for the state, enterprises, and even individuals. When the social insurance plan was first implemented after the war in 1949, the total expenditure of the FRG government for the whole year was DM 9.9 billion (approximately equal to US\$ 2.3 billion). This figure is almost equal to 30 percent of the GNP and is not smaller than that of Sweden, the well-known welfare state.

4. Slower development of new industries affects the competitive ability of their commodities in the international market. The world has recently entered a new age of the S&T revolution. Industries concentrate on the development of high-grade, precision and advanced products; electronic computers, information technology, biological engineering and other technologies progress by leaps and bounds. However, the FRG made a late start in the realm of new technology and is behind the United States and Japan.

The competitive ability of the electronic computer industry in the FRG, particularly that of the commonly used computer, is still poor in the international market. One reason is that compared to Japan and the United States, the FRG gave little subsidy to its electronic computer industry. During the 12 years from 1967 to 1979, the scientific research funds spent on the development of electronic computers by the FRG government averaged DM 290 million per year, while Japan's Ministry of International Trade and Industry subsidized an average of more than DM 400 million in each of the 6 years from 1966 to 1972 on the research and manufacturing of computers in order to strengthen the position of the three principal computer plants in the domestic market.



### III

In order to change the abuses in former economic and financial policies, the government has adopted a moderate policy of retrenchment, which is a policy readjustment. The basic characteristic of this policy is: while supporting the social market economy, reduce interference by the state, slow down the growth rate of government finances, and cut back on social welfare expenditures so that owners of enterprises may have even more freedom and profits in order to stimulate their enthusiasm and strengthen their ability to invest and provide the necessary conditions for creating new jobs and reducing unemployment.

The FRG has adopted a series of measures in response to the challenge of intense international competition in the new S&T revolution.

First, the FRG and the other countries of the European Economic Community have formulated a new strategy: stressing the development of information technology and biological engineering, enhancing the competitive ability of traditional products and striving to maintain a relative balance with the United States and Japan in the world market. Beginning this year the FRG is implementing a 4-year "production technology plan" funded by the government to promote firms and enterprises to speed up the development, popularization and use of electronic computer and robotics technology. The three largest electronics companies in the FRG, France and Great Britain have planned to build a joint basic research center this year to develop fifth-generation computers.

Second, the emphasis of large research organizations is concentrated on research in the newly-rising industries. In adhering to the view of their government, 13 large research organizations in the FRG have placed the emphasis of their future work on research in the newly-rising industries. Of the research projects, microelectronic technology and biological techniques have been given priority, and at the same time research on new-type materials and space engineering, as well as climate, environment and hygiene will be greatly intensified.

These 13 large research organizations have a total scientific research staff of 20,000 and a research expenditure of DM 1.8 billion this year, which is approximately one-fourth of the budget of research organizations in the FRG. Minister for Research and Technology Riesenhuber has pointed out that only by increasing the funds and staff for research in the newly-rising fields and drastically reducing the tasks of traditional research can the shift of emphasis in research be realized.

Third, raise funds for developing scientific research. The total scientific research expenditure of the FRG in 1983 was DM 46.8 billion, which was 2.8 percent of the GNP and ranked among the highest in the world. The principal sources of scientific research fund this year are the various departments in the economic area. These departments have provided DM 26.3 billion, the FRG government DM 12.2 billion and various provincial governments DM 7.7 billion.

Fourth, strengthen education in information technology. Since the end of last year the FRG, from the government and parliament down to the various political parties and enterprises, has been studying the issue of the new rapidly developing technical revolution in the world and discussing the appropriate response. It strongly feels that there is a danger of falling behind and believes that it must rouse itself to catch up. For this reason, the FRG government has adopted some measures to strengthen education in information technology and the training of qualified persons in this field. In March this year, the government through its "Government Information Technology Report" planned to adopt the following measures to strengthen education in information technology:

1. Popularize computer education in secondary schools. The government requires that in addition to the basic courses in information science given during the senior year at liberal arts and science secondary schools (whose graduates can directly enter universities), all states must teach ordinary secondary school students in their early years the basic knowledge of mastering information technology.

2. Train teachers in information education and increase computer facilities in various kinds of secondary schools. At present, the computers installed in the liberal arts and science secondary schools throughout the FRG can only satisfy approximately 30 to 80 percent of the need. The federal government has pointed out that industrial departments of information technology are responsible for donating computers to secondary schools. Moreover, the Ministry for Research and Technology is prepared to mobilize all major research organizations and companies to help the states to train teachers in information education in order to speedily eliminate the shortage of teachers in this area. The FRG Federation of Computer Centers, the Engineers Association, the Information Science Association and other organizations have indicated their willingness to give assistance to secondary schools throughout the country.

3. Extensively train university students. The government requests that opportunities be provided for all students at institutions of higher learning to learn and use computers. It proposes that universities establish computer funds with the support of their respective state governments and use these funds for their own students to purchase and install suitable computers. These computers can be used by university students under preferential conditions and software can be obtained through their [local] computer centers.

Under the impact of the high tide of the new worldwide technical revolution, the FRG government and people have indicated that they must rouse themselves to catch up. FRG Foreign Minister Genscher pointed out in a speech that the FRG and Western Europe must face the challenge of the new technical revolution. He argued that: "We will fall behind if we do not make progress. What is urgent at present is that we must accept this challenge and resolve to succeed."

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ECONOMIC

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

# CHINESE ANALYSIS OF WEST GERMAN ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

Beijing GUOJI WENTI YANJIU [INTERNATIONAL STUDIES] in Chinese No 4, Oct-Dec 84 pp 62-65

[Article by Su Huimin [5685 8396 3046]: "Some Information About FRG Economic Management"]

[Text] The Federal Republic of Germany [FRG] is a strong capitalist economic power that developed after World War II and that practices modern capitalist management. While working in the FRG, I had the opportunity to understand their organization and management on the spot and was invited on many occasions to attend the economic seminars organized by the FRG academic organizations to hear the views of experts. I have summed up and collated the information available to me to write up this short article for use as reference by comrades studying capitalist economic management.

## I. Paying Attention to vocational Training

That FRG industrial products enjoy a very good reputation in the world market is inseparable from their traditional attentiveness to vocational training. The Baden Grand Duchy of Germany promulgated the "Vocational Training Law" 150 years ago stipulating that cities and towns in the grand duchy should establish vocational schools.

Recently, a "Labor Market Research Institute" of Britain conducted an investigation on vocational training in the United States, Japan, FRG and Britain which ranked FRG best and Britain the worst. The investigation report stated that in FRG, over 70 percent of middle school graduates have the opportunity to undergo training, while only 5 percent of the people enter into the labor market without any vocational training. In Britain, however, over 50 percent of the young people flood into the labor market without going through any vocational training.

I understand how the FRG people pay attention to vocational training. I once accompanied a delegation to visit a farmer's family in the hilly region in the southern part of FRG; at that time the host's son was studying in an agro-technical school. The host told us that his son could succeed him as the head of the farm when he received his diploma. If his son did not have a diploma from the agro-technical school, he could only enjoy the property

inheritance right but not the operational right and it would be necessary to hire an agro-technical worker to run the farm on his behalf. I was skeptical about the statement at that time, which was later completely verified by an FRG official. Another incident was that in 1980 my work required me to take driving lessons in a driving school. My instructor was a veteran driver with 40 years of experience. On the first day, the instructor told me that he had to study in the traffic control section for one week in order to familiarize himself with the performance of new-type vehicles and the new traffic rules. If he failed the test he would not be allowed to continue his present occupation.

A foreign ambassador who was at home with the FRG national conditions asked why it was that the quality of products of many countries has lagged far behind that of the FRG even though the ratio of university students is not any lower than the FRG and their level of scientific research is very high. The key lies in the fact that the FRG pays attention to training technical workers while others have just overlooked this important link.

## II. Paying Attention to Scientific Management

The state of an enterprise hinges on its organization and management. Prof Grohler (?) [Ge-luo-he-la (phonetic)] a famous scholar on enterprise on enterprise management in the FRG, said: "Although organization and management do not amount to everything, without organization and management there is nothing."

After investigating enterprise bankruptcy in the FRG, he has concluded that it has two causes. First, lack of methods of scientific management and clearly defined responsibility and power. In the bankrupt private enterprises, there existed a tendency for the owners to believe that "I am the enterprise, the enterprise means me." He warned that "Whoever holds this belief, his enterprise will suffer myocardial infarction." Second, lack of market forecasting and effective information thereby causing mistakes in investment.

In organization, all large and medium enterprises in the FRG have set up a board of supervisors and a board of directors. The board of supervisors is responsible for important policy decisions and does not interfere with day-to-day operations. The board of directors organizes the enterprise's production, supply and marketing and is responsible to the board of supervisors. There are also brain trusts in large enterprises which provide economic strategies and suggestions to both boards.

In management, various enterprises have all attached great importance to summing up experience. A certain large mail order firm summed up its experience of success on how it has grown from a small business 35 years ago to an operation of DM 7 billion annually in business. This is a very representative case and its experience chiefly embraces the following features:

1. Users and customers are above everything. This principle is being applied to direct operational activities that involved a host of miscellaneous problems.



2. Quality first, reputation first. In business operation, do not sell inferior goods as quality goods or compete with opponents using inferior and cheap merchandise.
3. The leadership does not exceed its functions and meddle in others' affairs. It boldly lets subordinates work and concentrates its own energy to devise strategies for the future of the enterprise.
4. Welcoming criticism by others. At times, the views of outsiders are more valuable than the opinions of experts because spectators can see most clearly and the persons involved are confused.
5. The key to preserving the vitality of enterprises lies in flexible adaptation to changing external conditions.
6. Financial groups must engage in multi-character operations and must not concentrate on one thing only so as to cope with possible economic crises.
7. It is necessary to boldly take risks and at the same time make every effort to avert possible losses. For new projects it is necessary to weigh things carefully, conceive different tentative plans, and map routes of retreat.
8. The difference between a man of great ability and a fool lies not in the mistakes they made but in the different attitude they assumed toward mistakes. A man of great ability will face the mistakes squarely, analyze the causes, redeem the losses, acquire experience and better himself.
9. A leading member must sum up the enterprise's experience of success and lessons of failure so as to raise the proficiency of the managerial personnel.
10. Attention should be paid to learning lessons from other people's failures: Failures are largely due to the lack of long-term planning and complacency in day-to-day affairs, blind optimism in success and despair in failure.

### III. Paying Attention to Scientific Research Work

That the FRG industries have been marching in the forefront of capitalist industrial countries for a long time is the natural outcome of their attention to scientific research. By the eve of World War II, of the 45 Nobel Prize winners in physics, 10 were German; of the 40 Nobel Prize winners in chemistry 16 were German. It was obvious that the scientific research level in Germany at that time was among the best of all. The persecution of intellectuals by Hitler upon his rise to power had forced large numbers of scientists and professors to go into exile to the detriment of German scientific research and education.

In the early 1950's, the FRG rebuilt its scientific research system by closely linking industrial scientific research with the scientific research in institutes of higher learning and scientific research in specialized fields.



The FRG now has 127,000 scientists, while scientific research expenditures in 1983 reached DM 46.8 billion, or about 2 percent of the GNP value, which ranks first in the world. Of the funds for scientific research in the FRG, 60 percent came from the industrial circles. In 1983, for example, the industrial circles accumulated DM 26.3 billion in funds, and the federal government and various state governments accumulated DM 20 billion. The scientific research funds provided by the electronics, chemical, automobile manufacturing and machine-building sectors themselves account for 90 percent of the scientific research funds or even more (in the United States, industry and government each contributes one half; in Japan, industry contributes one-third and the government two-thirds). This shows that the FRG industrial circles are very enthusiastic about scientific research. It is the opinion of the FRG government that the more the state manages things, the poorer the economic results in scientific research will become. Consequently, government funds for scientific research are mainly used in the new and the most advanced spheres, for the risks there are great.

Because the FRG has paid attention to scientific research, its number of patent applications is much larger than most industrial countries. In 1983, the FRG registered 6,528 patents with the European patent bureau (the United States registered 7,592 patents; Japan 3,863). According to a study by the Ifo Economic Research Institute in Munich Germany, between 1976 and 1981, a total of 1.53 million patents were registered in the world, of which the FRG accounted for 21.3 percent, the United States 30.8 percent, Japan 10 percent. The FRG accounted for 16 percent of important inventions, the United States 36.5 percent, and Japan 3.1 percent.

#### IV. Implementation of "Joint Decision Power" in Large Enterprises

To alleviate the contradictions between the labor and the capital, the FRG has since the 1950's implemented "reciprocal joint decision-making power" in large coal and steel enterprises. In 1976, the Social Democratic government had also promoted this method. Throughout the FRG there are now 480 large enterprises implementing "reciprocal joint decision-making power," employing a total of 450,000 workers and staff members.

The "reciprocal joint decision-making power" refers to the participation by workers' representatives in the policy decision-making activities of the enterprise board of supervisors. Assuming that the board of supervisors of an enterprise is composed of 11 members, the capital will be represented by four stockholders and one high-ranking management staff member while the labor side will be represented by two workers' representatives from the factory, two senior trade union representatives and one high-ranking staff member. Both sides will choose by consultation a "neutral person" as chairman of the board of supervisors. In most cases, a "neutral person" is not chosen but a supervisor from the management will act as chairman. The chairman can cast two votes to break a deadlock when an impasse occurs.

This type of "reciprocal joint decision-making power" obviously cannot basically change the position of laborers, but to a certain extent it can ease labor-management contradictions and minimize the losses to the FRG economy

brought about by labor strikes. According to the data published by "European Statistics" and "Economic Community Organization," in the 1950's, as a result of strikes, the FRG lost an average of 59 workdays per 1,000 persons per year, the United States lost 668, Japan 328, and Britain 152. In the 1960's, the FRG lost an average of 15 workdays, the United States 450, Japan 139 and Britain 153. Between 1970 and 1975, the FRG lost an average of 49 workdays, the United States 557, Japan 177 and Britain 566. In 1980-82, the FRG lost 4, 3 and 1 workdays, respectively, the United States 335, 346 and 100 respectively, Japan 26, 14 and 13 respectively and Britain 523, 197 and 233 respectively. This has created favorable conditions for the stable development of the FRG economy.

#### V. Carrying Out Activities To "Accumulate Assets" Among Workers and Staff Members

The FRG government has encouraged its citizens to accumulate assets through such methods as encouraging savings deposits for home building, granting low-interest loans and purchasing "people's stock."

In 1970, the FRG assembly passed the "DM 624 Law." According to this law, for a single worker or staff member whose monthly income does not exceed DM 2,000 (for a married worker or staff member whose spouse has no income and the family income does not exceed DM 4,000), if he or she can save DM 624 annually for "asset accumulation" (such as savings for building a house or purchasing stock), the state will reward him (her) 30-40 percent of this amount (which should also be deposited in the bank). There are now more than 16 million people in the FRG participating in this type of savings, more than 14.7 million people have received rewards from the state, and the amount of principal and interest has reached DM 11 billion annually.

The government also sells certain national stocks called "people's stock" to workers and staff members. According to a study by the Deutch economic research institute at the end of 1980, more than 800 FRG enterprises have "people's stock" and the number of "worker and staff member stockholders" totaled over 850,000. In the FRG the Diesen (?) [di-seu] Company, 70,000 workers and staff members have bought shares totalling more than DM 42 million. In this way, not only have the enterprises absorbed large amounts of idle capital but also a sense of being the masters of an enterprise has been engendered among the workers and staff members, making them love the factory like their own homes and exert themselves for its development. A restaurant owner has also adopted this method of "arousing the workers' enthusiasm" and benefitted from it tremendously. He once said shyly: "After the restaurant workers purchase shares, their relationship with us is no longer that between labor and management but a relationship between small stockholders and big stockholders and consequently they work with more initiative." This shows that compared with the big stockholders, the "people's stock" amounts to a single hair out of nine ox hides, but it has given play to the workers' enthusiasm.

## VI. Paying Attention to the Role of Medium and Small Enterprises

Medium and small enterprises account for 90 percent of all FRG enterprises, with large enterprises occupying 10 percent. As for the number of employees, the medium and small enterprises and the large enterprises each share half.

Because of my work, I discussed the FRG economic structure with Dr Huo-man [phonetic], chairman of the Erhardt Fund, on a number of occasions. He assessed the role of medium and small enterprises very highly. He said: Medium and small enterprises are run flexibly and can react quickly. Production, supply and marketing are handled directly to reduce the middle links. They can also provide spare parts to the large enterprises to avoid the big and all-embracing corrupt practices. He compared the relationship between the large, medium and small enterprises to arbor, shrubs and forage grass in the plant kingdom which are interdependent and mutually promoting; one cannot survive without the other. Having large enterprises alone without medium and small enterprises, the large enterprises will lose the market and the foundation thereby upsetting the rational division of labor in production and ultimately also affecting the economic results.

The medium and small enterprises can start out and switch rapidly to other production. Thus they are called an "insurance lever with elasticity" in coping with worldwide economic crises.

## VII. Existence of a "Matured" and United Trade Union

The FRG is different from most capitalist countries in that it has a united national trade union with 8 million members, one of the largest trade union organizations among the capitalist countries. This trade union organization is called by the government and the economic circles a "most matured" trade union. The reasons are: 1. It does not organize political strikes and its principal task is to engage in wage negotiation with management once a year. However, because the trade union itself also holds many large enterprises (the Public Fund Bank--one of the largest banks in the FRG--and the "New Home Village" construction company, the largest construction company in Europe, with DM 6.5 billion in business annually), the trade union has taken an attitude of restraint most of the time at the annual wage negotiation and has won the unanimous praise from all quarters. Former FRG chancellor Schmidt once said that the credit should go to the united trade union and its wise action for enabling the FRG to smoothly pull through the world economic crisis. 2. The FRG "Enterprise Law" stipulated that the trade union shall not engage in political activities inside the factories. This stipulation has played an important role in ensuring production order. On the eve of the FRG general election in 1980, a woman worker reported to work carrying a badge opposing Strauss, the union party candidate for chancellor. Considering her action a "demonstrative political action," the factory management asked her to remove the badge but she refused. Shortly after that she was dismissed on the grounds of "disturbing production order." Her appeal was also rejected by the court. 3. The trade union has remained basically "neutral" during the struggle among parties and groups so as to avoid a split in the trade union. Thus, the trade union has become a pillar of social stability in the FRG.

## VIII. Instituting Social Market Economy

The FRG's rise from the ruins of World War II is inseparable from the social market economy pushed by the first FRG economic minister Ludwig Erhard (being hailed as father of the social market economy). At that time production had come to a stop, the economy was paralyzed and the black market had run rampant. The occupation forces and most economists all advocated the use of political means to interfere in the economy. But Erhard prevailed over all dissenting views and put forth the proposal of social market economy.

Social market economy actually means "free race" (the FRG economists at that time were reluctant to use the term "competition". It opposes excessive government intervention in the economy and operates on the premise that "the government should not intervene, but if it must, it should know when and where to stop." Prof Erhard held that "regardless of state monopoly or private monopoly, either one is harmful to individual enthusiasm."

The driving force of the social market economy is the pursuit of profit. The view is that the objective of economic activities is to make profits and profits can activate the enthusiasm of enterprises and individuals.

According to the theory of the social market economy, the functions of the government in the economic field are to support, through the tax revenue policy, certain essential non-profit-making enterprises in the national economy and help in economic development in underdeveloped areas. For instance the enormous subsidies given annually to agriculture, railroads, social facilities and education, and even iron and steel and shipbuilding departments in industries, represent the realization of this policy.

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Viewed from the rate of production increase, the inflation rate and the constant annual gain in profits in day-to-day undertakings, the FRG can be considered one of the outstanding countries. However, it should be pointed out that its economy has run into two major difficulties: 1. Labor costs are high and the labor time has further shortened, and its products lack competitiveness in the international market. 2. During the second half of the 1970's, due to the failure of popularizing new technology, the FRG fell behind the United States and Japan, consequently putting itself in an unfavorable position. These two major issues need to be solved by the FRG government and economic circles.

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ECONOMIC

FINLAND

#### AVIATION INDUSTRY SEEN SAVED FROM EXTINCTION BY AVTEK PACT

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 21 Mar 85 pp 3, 29

[Article by Jyri Raivio: "VALMET Building Plastic Plane"]

[Text] VALMET has reached an agreement with the American firm AVTEK [expansion unknown] to develop an ultramodern twin-engine airplane made of reinforced plastic. The Finnish company has bought a sizable chunk of AVTEK stock. VALMET general manager Matti Kankaanpaa has also been elected to be a board member of the California company.

According to the agreement, VALMET plans to build and market special versions of the AVTEK 400 aircraft needed by military and civilian officials. In addition, the Finns will develop a landing gear made of reinforced plastic that will be a fifth lighter than a metal landing gear.

VALMET's conspicuous investment in the AVTEK project was a surprise to the aviation industry. The industry's most prestigious publication, the American AVIATION WEEK, reported in its latest issue that AVTEK had concluded a licensing agreement "with an international aviation industry firm" for the construction of a military version of the plane. According to the magazine, the AVTEK 400's minimal radar-reflecting surface makes of it an advantageous plane for electronic warfare and naval reconnaissance missions.

VALMET's AVTEK agreement was also a surprise in Finland. It had been believed rather that VALMET was trying to get out of the whole aviation industry.

#### Cooperation with American Company: Prototypes to Be Quickly Built

VALMET is in a real sense participating in the project to build a new American plane made of reinforced plastic. The company has bought "a sizable number" of shares of the company called the AVTEK Corporation and VALMET general manager Matti Kankaanpaa has been elected to be a board member of the company.

AVTEK is developing a particularly modern and ambitious aircraft project called the AVTEK 400. VALMET has concluded an agreement with the company according to which AVTEK 400's to be adapted for use by military and civilian officials will be designed, manufactured and marketed in Finland.



In addition, VALMET will design a landing gear made of reinforced plastic for the plane. If the design operation is successful, the Finnish company plans to supply other aircraft plants with plastic landing gears as well.

VALMET did not want to talk about its financial investment in the company for the AVTEK project. In the industry's specialized press it is estimated that the total cost of developing the new aircraft will come to about \$50 million, or 350 million markkas. With this money AVTEK plans to build four prototypes, with their help obtain a certificate of airworthiness for the new plane and also finance the manufacture of parts of the first 66 mass-produced planes.

At present there is only a kind of preliminary prototype of the AVTEK 400 which has been flown about 30 times. The real prototype will to some extent differ from the present plane. Among other things, they plan to lengthen the fuselage by about a meter.

#### Company Is Three Years Old

AVTEK, VALMET's joint-venture company operating in California, was founded in only 1982. Behind the company and the project is Bob Adickes, who worked as a commercial pilot for 30 years and who brought in with himself partners from Japan in addition to the United States and now Finland. Manufacturers of the airplane's ultramodern structural materials, the giants of the American chemical industry, DuPont and Dow Chemical, are also financing the development of the AVTEK 400.

The basic aerodynamic structure of the plane is the so-called canard, or duck. On the forward section of the fuselage is a forward wing with its elevator and the wing proper is drawn very far back. Power is supplied by two Canadian Pratt & Whitney PT6 turboprop engines. They are located in the wing and they drive two reinforced plastic push propellers.

In civilian use, as a so-called businessman's plane, the AVTEK will be a 6-to-9 seater. The lightness of the structure and improved aerodynamics give it high performance figures. They promise a cruising speed of about 690 km an hour. Fuel consumption is clearly lower than with comparable, older technology planes and the plane's maximum operational time approaches 8 hours.

These performance figures will certainly make of the AVTEK 400, which will cost about \$1.5 million, or a little more than 10 million markkas, a product that is in demand. The plant already has advance orders for 120 planes.

They will, however, only become binding in the event that the calculated and hoped-for performance figures are really achieved and that the official U.S. aviation agency, the FAA [Federal Aviation Agency], grants a certificate of airworthiness for the plane by the even roughly estimated deadline.

## Pressing Deadline

The goal is the second half of next year. The deadline is a very tight one because they have only just begun to build the first prototype needed in the test-flight program.

The ultramodern structure of the plane will tighten the schedule. The AVTEK 400 will be the first airplane made chiefly of Kevlar fibers. The new structural material requires a more rigorous than usual type-approval process.

A good example of this is AVTEK's competitor, the American plane called the Lear Fan, to be built of carbon fibers. It has not yet obtained a type-approval certificate either, which was supposed to have been forthcoming as early as 4 years ago. The delay has raised Lear Fan development costs by over 1.5 billion markkas and driven the company into near bankruptcy.

The most conspicuous part of VALMET's AVTEK agreement has to do with the development, marketing and construction of AVTEK 400 aircraft adapted for use by military and civilian officials everywhere else in the world but the United States and Japan.

Heikki Mantyla, who holds an engineer's degree in aircraft construction and heads the VALMET defense equipment team, can imagine that there will be many such applications. The reinforced plastic plane's radar-reflecting surface is minimal, its long operational time is suited to different sorts of reconnaissance missions and its high performance specifications otherwise appeal to the military.

The former Aviation Industry Development Division (IKO) is developing special versions at VALMET's Kuorevesi plant. Having operated for a long time with government funding, IKO has for some time now been operating as the plant's planning department with the plant's own financing.

According to Mantyla, great opportunities also lie concealed in the landing gear project if it is very successful. The reinforced plastic landing gear is about 20 percent lighter than a metal one. If the technique is mastered, we may well imagine a production line for Kuorevesi that will manufacture tailor-made landing gears for aircraft plants other than AVTEK as well.

VALMET is serious about the landing gear project too. Two men from Kuorevesi, assistant professor Olli Saarela, bought from Otaniemi, and engineer Heikki Haapanen, have been at the AVTEK plant in California for some time now working with the plastic landing gear team.

## Plastic Technology Viewed As Being Important

Mantyla, however, stressed the fact that the AVTEK agreement is a way for VALMET to adopt an ultramodern reinforced plastic technique, no matter how things turn out in the end for the aircraft itself or the landing gear.

New materials like fiberglass and carbon fiber and the AVTEK 400's Kevlar and Nomex will rapidly begin to be used elsewhere than in the aviation industry as well. Uses will certainly be found for substances that are lighter and at the same time stronger than nearly all metals in multi-industry firms like VALMET that are looking for ultramodern technology.

About 10 years ago Finland was still one of the top countries working with reinforced plastics. The PIK-20B sailplane was the first airplane whose wing bearing beam was made of carbon fiber. The successful sailplane production was allowed to slip out of its hands and the reinforced plastic technology very rapidly slipped away too.

With respect to plastics, the Kuorevesi plant has made a complete about-turn. Earlier the plant had assured everyone that it would continue to be a manufacturer of sheet-metal airplanes. In a spirit of experimentation, however, a couple of years ago they built two PIK-23's out of plastic, designed to be used chiefly as sailplane towplanes. And now the plant is gambling its future almost entirely on reinforced plastics.

VALMET's Kuorevesi plant employs 534 people. The chief current operation is the assembly of Air Force Hawk trainers, which will come to an end next summer. After that, as far as we know, there is no new airplane production in the offing for the plant.

#### Bold Leap into the Unknown

The AVTEK agreement entered into by the Finnish state metal industry company, VALMET, brings to mind a man who approaches a completely unfamiliar rocky shore in his swimming trunks and makes a beautiful dive head first and eyes closed into the water, hoping that the water is deep enough and that there do not happen to be any stones at that spot.

The comparison comes to mind mainly because the VALMET-AVTEK agreement is full of unknown factors.

AVTEK is a new, almost unknown company whose capital base was slim, at least before VALMET's investment in it, the size of which has remained unknown.

As far as its aerodynamics and, above all, its structural qualities are concerned, the AVTEK 400 involves a completely new technology. If it is successful, it will revolutionize the market, but the chances of its failing are great too.

And, at least until now, VALMET has been regarded as a very uncertain aircraft industry enterprise.

Only a year ago it was believed to be trying to get out of the whole aviation industry in any way it could. Industrialist Uolevi Raade's committee had proposed a new aircraft industry combine, formed under the direction of Finnair,

which VALMET's Matti Kankaanpaa backed. Minister Seppo Lindblom, who received the committee's report, promised swift action on the matter, but nothing has happened.

"As I understand it, the ministry would be ready to fund research and development, but otherwise the matter is to be handled completely between Finnair and VALMET," Trade and Industry Ministry department head Bror Wahlroos said.

"The matter is being studied, but it isn't urgent because Kuorevesi is up to its neck in work. They plan to have the results of their study ready by early May," Finnair general manager Gunnar Korhonen stated.

During the past year VALMET's attitude toward its aviation division seems, however, to have quietly changed. The company has invested over 20 million markkas in the version of the Vinka basic trainer equipped with a turboprop engine, which is currently being flown on test flights. However, general manager Kankaanpaa said that, following the Raade committee report, the feeling was that VALMET's aircraft investments were then over.

But now comes the AVTEK agreement. This, if anything, demonstrates VALMET's top management's renewed interest in the aviation industry.

All this demonstrates the praiseworthy unbiased attitude of a company whose only concern just a few years ago was to somehow survive. Now they anticipate success at VALMET and now there is a real pioneer spirit at VALMET. This is presupposed by its participation in a futuristic project like the AVTEK 400.

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CSO: 3617/96



ECONOMIC

FINLAND

PAPER ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT VALMET-AVTEK PROJECT

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 24 Mar 85 p 2

[Editorial: "VALMET Strikes While the Iron Is Hot"]

[Text] After sales expectations for the Vinka basic trainer designed and built at VALMET's Kuorevesi plant proved to be unfounded, aircraft builders maintained their professional skills chiefly by assembling fighter planes bought from abroad and by repairing other aviation equipment. Well over a year ago industrialist Raade's committee proposed that our aviation industry join in a combine with Finnair, believing and hoping that our indispensable professional skill might be preserved, insofar as is possible in a small country, through various kinds of reciprocal purchases, among other things.

However, nothing has been done about this, at least not publicly. At present they are waiting for reports, which should be ready by May. But now VALMET has, as a considerable surprise to all, announced that, as a partner in an American aircraft manufacturing company, it is about to design, build and market an ultramodern plastic airplane suited to both civilian and military use. The Raade committee proposal can wait. That way, as is well, linking Finnair's name with the manufacture of a potentially military aircraft can be avoided. And, if VALMET has secured a dollar loan for the project, the Trade and Industry Ministry does not have to participate in the funding of even the research for the project.

Our interests are seen as requiring that we preserve practical contact with aviation industry development as well as our skills through suitable new construction, not only repair and assembly operations. Vinka shows that we are capable of this. But the forces behind our aircraft industry are too frail for foreign industrialists to be confident that it will be capable of continuing to operate under any circumstances.

With the cooperation of American technical knowhow and financing channels VALMET's chances can, this being the case, shape up in a quite different way than if a purely Finnish product were involved. If the aim is to maintain our aircraft building skill, we have to build airplanes. It is thus essential for us to strive to achieve peak development through decisions in terms of which VALMET will not have to sustain the risk alone.

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ECONOMIC

GREECE

BRIEFS

STEYR-HELLAS NEW GOALS--Steyr-Hellas is getting ready for new production activity. Besides being involved with military orders, it will now begin manufacturing tractors, trucks and other specialized vehicles. The green light for the company's production expansion into "civilian" products was turned on yesterday morning in Vienna with the initialing of a very important agreement with the Austrian firm Steyr Debler Puh. This agreement, that is the result of many months of negotiations, releases the Greek Steyr firm from administrative, technological and production dependence on the Austrian firm. Alternate Minister of National Economic K. Vaitzos, who returned to Athens yesterday after a 3-day official visit to Austria, told economic reporters that, "Finally, a new chapter in the history of Steyr is being opened and in its contribution to the industrial development of the country." Negotiations will be held in March to discuss technical matters and subsequently Austrian Minister of Transport Lacina will come to Athens to sign the agreement. Toward the end of May, 40 Austrian businessmen, merchants and bankers will visit Athens to have direct contacts with Greek firms. It is to be noted that in 1984 Greek exports increased by about 15 percent and that this year there are proper conditions for a further increase, primarily in the export of industrial goods. Mr Vaitzos stressed that there are strong prospects for joint enterprises in third countries (eastern ones and Arab ones) especially in the area of subcontracting where one country can made up for the deficiencies of the other. Also invited to visit Greece are representatives of trade and import firms. It is also expected that the increased influx of Austrian tourists will continue this year. It is to be noted that in 1984, 235,000 Austrians came to Greece, i.e. about 30 percent more than in 1983. /Excerpts/ /Athens ETHNOS in Greek  
15 Mar 85 p 19/ 5671

CSO: 3521/230

ECONOMIC

PORTUGAL

BRIEFS

NO INDUSTRIAL INVESTMENT FORESEEN--The "extremely poor prospects" of the current economic situation mean that 70 percent of Portugal's industrialists are not planning any investments within the country, according to a publication by the Portuguese Industry Confederation (CIP) that reports the results of a survey covering November and December 1984. The document issued by the CIP adds that short-term expectations point to a continuation of the current level of industrial activity, with the possibility that in some cases, several indicators may move in an unfavorable direction. As far as overall billing is concerned, a drop was reported by 33 percent of the industrialists, compared to 29 percent during the preceding 2-month period. The survey also reveals a continuation of "the low level of utilization of installed production capacity," with 38 percent of the businessmen saying that capacity is markedly underutilized. Fifty-one percent said they were operating at between 70 and 90 percent of capacity, and one-fourth of the firms surveyed said that inventories of finished products were "above normal." The survey was concerned with the extractive, processing, food, beverage and tobacco, and textile industries, among others. [Text] [Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 1 Mar 85 p 5] 11798

FOREIGN BANKS' LOAN WILLINGNESS--The \$500-million loan to Portugal (about 90 million contos) was oversubscribed last week by 22 foreign banks, according to an announcement in London yesterday. A British publication specializing in economic affairs--AGEFI--reveals that the operation, with the Bank of Tokyo, the National Bank of Paris, Citicorp, the Industrial Bank of Japan, Lloyd's Bank, and Manufacturers Hanover acting as the lead banks, was oversubscribed by \$60 million (about 10 million contos). But the banks involved in the operation will harmonize the amount subscribed by each bank so that the final figure does not exceed \$500 million. The loan, consisting of two equal tranches of \$250 million--each with a term of 8 years--had already been guaranteed by the six lead banks, which have now been joined by 22 more institutions as subscribers to the loan. The first tranche of the loan consists of a \$250-million "multiple facility" in the form of short-term promissory notes, all of which have been acquired by the subscribing banks. The facility carried a guarantee by the lead banks in the form of an 8-year standby credit to be used if the promissory notes were not completely subscribed. The second tranche is a traditional syndicated loan of \$250 million repayable in 8 years. It carries an interest rate of 62.5 percent above LIBOR (London Interbank Offered Rate). [Text] [Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 2 Mar 85 p 28] 11798

CSO: 3542/135

ECONOMIC

SWEDEN

# UNEMPLOYMENT RATE DROPS TO 3.4 PERCENT IN JANUARY

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 9 Feb 85 p 10

[Article by Clas Barkman: "Fewer are Unemployed"]

[Text] Unemployment continues to drop. In January this year 4 percent of the able-bodied population were unemployed, compared to 3.7 percent in January 1984.

All of the reduction in unemployment is due to the youth law introduced last year which provided employment to a large number of 18 and 19-year-olds.

These data are from recent SCB [Central Statistical Office] figures.

The number of jobs in manufacturing increased during the past year by approximately 2.2 percent, now totaling 1 million positions.

The increase in the public sector was even greater: 2.4 percent last year. Altogether there are presently 1.3 million employees in state, municipal and county governments.

In the construction industry the number of workers remained unchanged.

In spite of large investments on the part of the Labor Market Board, for instance, long-term unemployment continued at a record high. Twenty-six percent of the unemployed or 39,000 persons were jobless in January this year for longer than 6 months. This is one-tenth of 1 percent worse than at the corresponding time last year.

## Improvement

It is the youth in the 20-24-year age bracket who are hardest hit by unemployment. Almost 8 percent were jobless last month.

The open unemployment, i.e., those who are outside the regular labor market, included 149,000 persons or 3.4 percent of the work force in January 1985. If one groups the openly unemployed with the number of persons in various programs intended to affect the labor market, it will be seen that over 468,000 persons or 10.7 percent of the work force are outside of the regular

work force. Compared with January last year, this is clearly an improvement. Last year almost 520,000 or 11.9 percent of the work force were outside of the regular labor market.

#### Differences

There are still many large regional differences in the number of job vacancies. It is worst in Norrbotten, where there are over 14 applicants for each job vacancy. In western Norrland there are almost 12 applicants for each job vacancy.

Kalmar County is in third place with 10 applicants for each job vacancy.

It is easiest to find work in Stockholm. There the ratio is only 2 applicants per job vacancy. In January this year the opportunities were also good in Blekinge and the Kristianstad and Skaraborg counties, where 2 applicants competed for each vacancy.

The national average is 4.5 applicants for each job vacancy.

|   | Jan 1985 | Jan 1984 |
|---|----------|----------|
| Open unemployment   | 3.4%     | 1.4%     |
| Latent unemployment: persons wanting work but not looking | 1.0%     | 1.4%     |
| Part-time unemployed                                      | 3.7%     | 3.6%     |
| Labor market development                                  | 0.9%     | 1.0%     |
| Reserve work  | 0.7%     | 1.8%     |
| Youth law   | 0.9%     | 0.3%     |
| Training under AMI [Labor Market Institute]               | 0.1%     | 0.1%     |
| <hr/>   |          |          |
| Total:  | 10.7%    | 11.9%    |

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ECONOMIC

SWEDEN

BRIEFS

ECONOMY RETAINING STRENGTH--Economic growth in Sweden will lose some of its vigor during the second quarter this year and then experience another upturn. The latest composite of leading economic indicators prepared by the Economic Institute provides this positive forecast. Various indicators are included in the series and those supporting the positive trend over the summer include the continued high rate of new orders, the industrial inventory quotient, notices and layoffs. Based on observations up through November of last year, the series extends through August. [Text] [Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 7 Feb 85 p 10] 9992

CSO: 3650/167



ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY

SWEDEN

STUDY DETAILS ACID RAIN EFFECTS ON FORESTS

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 7 Feb 85 p 16

[Article by Gosta Karlsson: "Tree Desiccation Argument Against British Emission"]

[Text] The correlation between air pollution and forest death is shown in a new study at the forestry service in Gavleborg County. In comparing the forest death in Sweden over the past 30 years with the emission of sulfur and nitric oxides during the same period, a picture emerges that is considered as clear evidence that toxic emissions are responsible for forest death.

"Instances of tree death from so-called tree desiccation have been recorded in Sweden since the early 1950s," says Sten-Gunnar Skutin, forestry officer in Gavle.

"From the files we determined the proportion of dry trees that were larger than 25 centimeters in diameter and we were able for the first time to draw up a chart demonstrating that forest death has a direct relationship with the emission of pollutants here at home and elsewhere in Europe.

"Forest death in Sweden was most widespread at the beginning of the 1970s. Due to reduced emissions, forest death declined after this. An increase at the beginning of the 1980s, most pronounced in the southern parts of the country, was most likely due to a few unusually dry summers.

"A large part of the air pollution that affects Sweden comes from Great Britain. The English government, despite strong pressure from the Nordic countries, has made no decision concerning reduced emissions. We believe that the study we have conducted may be important in the continuing negotiations," says Skutin.

"In Sweden, too, some experts have claimed that forest death in Norrland for example cannot be due to air pollution. I hope that our figures will give weight to the call for continued reduction of emissions."

The government is now preparing an acidification bill to be proposed in mid-February. It is based on a plan for measures against acidification developed by the environmental protection agency (SNV). In the plan the agency proposes

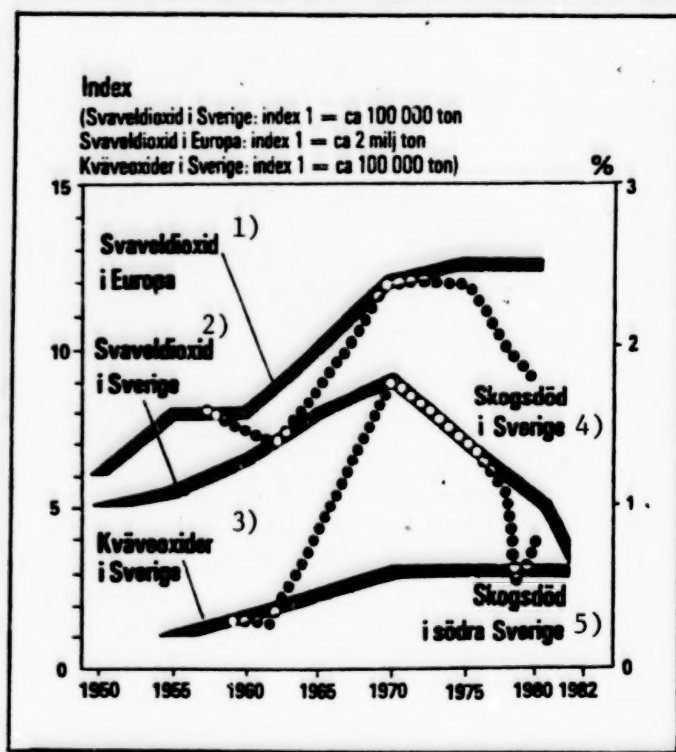
that the emissions of sulfur dioxide be reduced by at least 65 percent during 1980-1995. Nitric oxide emissions would be reduced by at least 30 percent during the same period.

**Index:**

Sulfur dioxide in Sweden: one unit equals circa 100,000 metric tons

Sulfur dioxide in Europe: one unit equals circa 2 million tons

Nitric oxides in Sweden: one unit equals circa 100,000 tons



- [1] Sulfur dioxide in Europe
- [2] Sulfur dioxide in Sweden
- [3] Nitric oxides in Sweden
- [4] Forest death in Sweden
- [5] Forest death in southern Sweden

This is the graph which the forestry service in Gavle hopes will allow England to see the correlation between air pollution and forest death. The curves representing forest death in all of Sweden and in the southern region show the percentage of dead trees larger than 25 centimeters in the forest stand.

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